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East Asia

Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

Special Issue, October 1987

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Vietnam: Tap Chi Cong San

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TAP CHI CONG SAN

Special Issue, October 1987

[Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents, the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.]

Words of Ho Chi Minh

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 1-2

[Excerpts from article by Ho Chi Minh entitled "The Great October Revolution Has Opened the Way to the Liberation of All Nations," 1 November 1967]

[Text] "Like the sun, the light of the October Revolution shines on all five continents, awakening millions of oppressed and exploited persons on earth. Never before in the history of man has there been a revolution of such enormous and far reaching importance.

The October Revolution was the first victory of Marxism and the doctrine of Lenin in a large country, the Soviet Union, which covers one-sixth of the world. It was the greatest victory of the working class, of the laboring people and oppressed nations, a victory led by the working class and its vanguard unit, the Bolshevik Party. The October Revolution, through violent revolutionary force, toppled the bourgeoisie and feudal landowner class, established the dictatorship of working people and built a totally new society, a society without exploiters."

"The October Revolution opened the way to the liberation of all nations and all mankind and ushered in a new age in history, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world."

"...By following the path charted by the great Lenin, the path of the October Revolution, the Vietnamese have won very large victories. Therefore, the bond and the gratitude that the Vietnamese feel toward the glorious October Revolution, the great Lenin and the Soviet people are exceedingly deep."

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The October Revolution and the Vietnamese Revolution

42100003b Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 3-10

[Article by Nguyen Van Linh]

[Text] The October Revolution is the greatest event in mankind's history. Since the October Revolution, socialism has become a vivid reality in a country that gloriously triumphed over fascism and has later turned into a powerful worldwide system, changing the face of our planet. The revolutionary changes over the past 70 years

in the Soviet Union and throughout the world are consistent with the law governing the trail-blazing October Revolution. Piercing many layers of mist and traversing countless rivers and mountains, the light of the October Revolution has reached every corner of the earth, illuminating the path to self-emancipation of the working class and various nations.

The successive victories and steady advance of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 57 years all took place in the light of the October Revolution. Early in the 20th century, at a time when the Vietnamese patriotic movement was in the grip of a deep policy crisis and when democratic bourgeois patriots such as Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh were being disoriented, the light of the October Revolution broke through. Comrade Ho Chi Minh, still in France at that time, was the first Vietnamese who, after reading the first draft of Lenin's thesis on national and colonial problems, realized the truth that, to save the country and liberate the nation, there was no other road than that of proletarian revolution. (Ho Chi Minh: "Forever Following the Road of Great Lenin," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, page 51) From that moment, Marxism-Leninism spread to Vietnam. There, it combined with the workers and patriotic movements to give rise to the CPV, ushering in a decisive turning point for the Vietnamese revolution and for the revolution of the three Indochinese countries as a whole.

The founding of the CPV in 1930, together with the subsequent revolutionary movements, led to the triumph of the August Revolution in 1945 and the establishment of the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia. This was followed by the victory of the war of resistance against French imperialism in 1954 that marked the completion of the national democratic revolution in the northern half of the country, and the victory over U.S. imperialism in 1975 that unified the country and launched it on the path to socialism. These were important milestones testifying to the fact that the Vietnamese revolution has gloriously continued the cause of the October Revolution. The Vietnamese people take great pride in counting themselves among the nations which have recorded many exploits and have continued upholding the invincible banner of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution set a perfect example of renovated thinking and creativeness. The founders of scientific socialism and Marx and Engels based their theory on realities of the 19th century and on the knowledge man had acquired up to that time. But the early 20th century saw great changes: capitalism had developed into imperialism and revolutionary movements, and their forces had become much stronger. In that situation Lenin applied Marx' materialist philosophy as a creative methodology to his analyses of the new phenomena of capitalism. Lenin then developed a theory on imperialism and upgraded and perfected Marx' theory on proletarian revolution that he creatively applied to each stage

of the Russian revolution, thus bringing about the historic victory of the October Revolution.

Afterward, the successful conclusion of the bloody civil war, the adoption of the new economic policy aimed at extricating the country from a deep economic and political crisis, and the formulation of an overall plan for socialist construction in the Soviet Union were the outstanding contributions by the creative dialectical thinking of Lenin and the glorious Bolshevik Party.

The 27th CPSU Congress followed up and promoted the spirit of renovation and creativeness of Lenin and the October Revolution. Basing itself on present realities in the Soviet Union and the world, the congress put forth new concepts which creatively develop Marxism-Leninism in all the most important fields and illuminate the present era and socialism in their advance. These new concepts enable us to gain a more profound understanding of our epoch, of socialism, of its present and future and its objective laws.

The 27th CPSU Congress and the Party Central Committee plenums in January and June 1987 brought to a new height the renovation of theoretical thinking. The CPSU sternly criticized scholasticism in theoretical study in the past, which led to backwardness in theory. The CPSU considers theoretical backwardness as the root cause of past Soviet socioeconomic difficulties, stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism.

Today, the Soviet Union is faced with the task having the nature of a turning point—that of bringing Soviet society to a new stage of qualitative development. The large scope and complexity of this task requires a profound reappraisal of the whole system of socialist philosophy, economics and politics, and scientific communism. The most important thing is to apply dialectical methods, the core of which, as Lenin pointed out, is the bringing into agreement of opposing aspects to analyze new trends that play a main role in the evolution and development of the time and Soviet society. While analyzing these subjects, we must understand that intrinsic contradictions constitute the cause and driving force of their development and evolution, even in a socialist society.

On the basis of this new analysis, effective measures and formats are found to carry out new tasks. It is necessary to possess a creativeness with which to enrich and concretize the principles and viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and to make theory neither stop with explaining established concepts nor rely on already available formats, but constantly find the answers to life and always maintain its vanguard position to point the way for and accelerate social development. The most outstanding achievement of the CPSU in the renovation of theoretical thinking is manifested first of all in the fact that the party has introduced new theoretical concepts about the turning point character of the current historic stage in the world and in Soviet society, about the

dialectics of the times, about its trends and contradictions, about the driving forces of social progress, about the acceleration of Soviet socioeconomic development as an objective law governing the evolution of socialism and about the dialectics of the transition to communism. All these are things that may answer to the challenge of the time and to the burning issues of the Soviet society and the world socialist community as a whole.

The new thinking and the definition of new values find their fullest expression in the reappraisal and critical analysis of the domestic situation. This analysis is well based and faithful to the truth without distortion, cover-up and exaggeration and with everything in the open. Renovation is also reflected in the theories about the strategy of acceleration, in the objectives and tasks designed to effectively bring into play the superiorities of socialism, and in the laying down of priority tasks in the political, economic, social, spiritual and ethical fields. In the system of these renovated values, the human factor is considered first and foremost. The comprehensive and harmonious development of man is the number one goal, and this is the most fundamental characteristic of progress in a socialist society.

The renovation undertaking initiated by the 27th CPSU Congress serves not only as a factor deciding a step of qualitative development that has begun in the Soviet socio-economic scene, but it also has profound epochal significance. It is certain that the ongoing restructuring process in the Soviet Union—being a total and thorough revolution with a realistic solidity in all respects and with the experience drawn from the realities of renovation in the Soviet Union at different degrees—will be of both theoretical and practical value to world socialism. Owing to its characteristics and scope, restructuring in the Soviet Union is, in fact, a completely new undertaking that bears great influence and profound impact on the advance of the world revolution. The revolutionary nature of the acceleration program which is aimed at raising the development of Soviet society to a new qualitative level will influence the situation of the entire world and the settlement of the fundamental contradictions of the time. This will inevitably affect in one way or another the situation of every country.

The most profound renovation in thinking within the CPSU is clearly indicated by the enrichment of Lenin's concepts of the era and its main problems, and of the reciprocal relations and cause-effect interdependence between the components that make up the context of the era; and by the resultant charting of a course for all forces to operate in line with the law. On the stand of the working class and a scientific approach, the CPSU has analyzed totally anew all kinds of contradictions in the world as well as ways to solve them; the historical role of socialism, its achievements and advantages, and its capabilities and prospects; and international relations and the actual chances of warding off the danger of a nuclear war now directly threatening mankind. This is explained as follows: the world today has entered a new

stage and the positive improvement of the scientific-technological revolution and the production forces, which develop by leaps and bounds, have created great potentials for mankind to build society or destroy it. The CPSU was the first to point out this bitter truth. Moreover, politically, today's world is complicated, multifaceted, ever-changing and rife with contradictions and conflicts. It is a world with the most perplexing choices.

Those characteristics of the world situation call for a new point of view on the part of mankind. This is also the first time in history for Lenin's party to present a new way of dealing with the issue of war and peace. Since this political concept of foreign relations is based on facts and logic as well as on the aspirations of billions of people, it has enjoyed the most widespread response and the most profound acclamation of the world people. The prestige of the Soviet Union and socialism has been constantly enhanced under the banner of peace.

The same spirit of renovation marked the Sixth CPV Congress which was greatly inspired by the 27th CPSU Congress and the renovation process in the Soviet Union. There the critical spirit of Marxist philosophy was brought into play to confront and evaluate facts and to make a full account of them. The congress made careful analyses of all aspects of the situation in the country, reviewed all successes and failures, and defined strategic tasks for the transition period and tasks and objectives for the rest of the initial stage of this period.

Those decisions are proof of our party's keen determination to comprehensively renovate all social aspects in our country so as to create a new turning point and make the country sail through difficulties and challenges and firmly advance toward socialism. Our party's determination to carry out renovation responds to the urgent demands of the actual situation of the Vietnamese revolution, conforms with the trend of drastic and swift changes of the era, marks an important turning point of the Vietnamese revolution, and creates new prospects for the nation.

As shown by the CPSU's experience, renovation in thinking and in society must be preceded by renovation in theoretical thinking. The renovation of any social aspect must be preceded by preparations in theoretical thinking. The better the preparations, the greater the successes of the renovation process. This means that in the renovation process, one must take into account the concrete situation in the country and then work out correct solutions suited to the development of Vietnam and the trends of development in the world. To put it another way, one must work out solutions suited to the actual development of the present situation in Vietnam.

A country like Vietnam which is characterized by small production and bypasses the period of capitalist development is in a truly particular and delicate situation.

This situation inevitably calls for renovation in theoretical thinking based on general practical concepts and theories having a principled character to devise suitable policies and solutions that meet the demands of life.

Only through large-scale experimentation and application can theoretical thinking be institutionalized and given shape in life and translated into daily action by broad sections of the masses. This is a process conforming to the law which the party and state must observe in adopting any major decision.

Our Sixth Party Congress realized all the more clearly the socio-economic characteristics of our country and, on the basis of this, was able to predict a difficult, complicated, and long transition period for Vietnam. Vietnam's biggest characteristic is to bypass the period of capitalist development and advance from a small-scale production system which was heavily devastated in almost 30 years of war and is subject to serious imbalances in many respects. The congress also pointed out that Vietnam's current economy is a multi-component economy. These characteristics bear a decisive influence on the tasks and contents, as well as the formats of the socialist revolution in Vietnam. The mistakes we made out of subjectivism and impatience in the past resulted mainly from our failure to firmly grasp and deeply study these characteristics.

According to Lenin's thoughts, the transition period in our country must inevitably unfold in different stages, with each of them having specific historic tasks of its own. The key tasks of the first stage at present consist of stabilizing in the main the socio-economic situation and creating the necessary preconditions for carrying out large-scale industrialization in the next stage. The transition period in Vietnam lies in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism worldwide, which began with the October Revolution. Against this background, two most important factors of the time are directly and deeply affecting the transition period in our country. First, it is the unprecedented growth of socialist forces in the world—of which the Soviet Union and the socialist community serve as the core—that is deciding the direction of the development of man's society; and second, the new cycle of the scientific and technological revolution which has been taking place since the mid-seventies is rapidly accelerating economic development in various countries. While economic and technical relations among countries are developing at an unprecedented rate, the development of a country depends to a very large extent on its capability to participate in international economic relations. These are factors that bear a deep imprint on the domestic and external economic and political policies of our country. For only by relying on the basis of understanding the fundamental characteristics of an epoch can we look into the minute details of one country or another. (Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 26, p 174)

Economically, the CPV stressed the need to direct the renovation of thinking to making correct socio-economic policies so as to promote the dynamic and creative role of the laboring people, release production forces, make full use of all national resources and broaden international economic cooperation, first of all with the Soviet Union and other countries in the world socialist community, for the purpose of boosting production and stabilizing life. Along with reorganizing the economic structure to serve the three major economic programs, the congress decided to renovate the mechanism of economic management and completely do away with bureaucratic centralism and state subsidization together with all their constraints. The new mechanism is characterized by a step-by-step application of the principle of socialist accountability in socialist enterprise; it employs planning as the fulcrum and is based on democratic centralism. In this mechanism, importance is attached to both planning and the use of the goods-money relationship—two specific traits which do not contradict but which are organically interrelated, provide preconditions for each other and complement each other to develop their effect.

With regard to the leading role of the CPV, the 6th Party Congress stressed that the great magnitude and complexity of comprehensive socio-economic renovation in Vietnam require that we constantly strengthen the party's leadership and militancy.

Therefore, it is necessary to scientifically and specifically define and institutionalize the leadership functions of the party in the capacity of a ruling party in its relations with the state and various mass organizations in the fields of economy, politics, law, culture, society and mass relationship.

We must perfect the system of democratic centralism, achieve democratization, struggle for criticism and self-criticism in the party and define the bearing and quality of members of the ruling party in Vietnam.

The process of renovation bespeaks the urgent need to renovate organizational and cadre work. Cadres decide everything. This motto, which appeared first in the Soviet Union, now has a very great guiding significance to us. Renovating organization and cadre work constitutes the major and most important link with which to accelerate the process of renovation of revolutionary significance throughout our country.

Realities show that work related to organization and cadres is one of great complexity and difficulty. This is a science. More than that, this is the most complicated science—the science of human beings. However, we cannot afford to be incapable. The tasks laid down can be undertaken if we correctly adopt the policy toward the masses and insure democracy and openness in cadre work.

It is necessary to change our viewpoints in the evaluation of cadres. The present highest criterion for evaluating cadres lies in the results of the fulfillment of their assignments on the basis of changing the ways of thinking and doing things in conformity with the need for general renovation of the revolution.

The most vital issue, which is also the weakest element, in cadre work at present is the issue of planning, training and fostering cadres. These include leading and managerial cadres at all levels and specialized and professional cadres belonging to various fields.

It should be affirmed that we have an abundant source of cadres who have matured through the two wars of resistance as well as through socialist construction. The essential thing is that we must formulate plans and establish a mechanism for the rational recruitment and selection of cadres.

One of the major standpoints manifesting our party's determination to carry out renovation is the launching of a major campaign, which will begin in late 1987, with the aim of purifying the party organization and enhancing its militancy, making the state machinery clean and increasing its management efficiency, beating off and eliminating all negative phenomena, improving all social relations and realizing social justice.

The open struggle against negativism and for social justice, which was launched several months ago under the form of "things that must be done immediately," is restoring confidence and hope in tens of millions of people, thus opening good prospects and creating favorable conditions for conducting the above-mentioned major campaign

That the CPV and the CPSU see eye to eye on key problems of domestic and foreign policies was proved by the visit paid to the Soviet Union by a top-level CPV delegation on 17-25 May, whose great success was recalled in the ensuing joint statement and in various agreements and protocols which marked a new qualitative development in the comprehensive Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation.

This new stage in the cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, especially economic cooperation, meets the need of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 6th CPV Congress for restructuring and renovation and conforms to the trend of this era for changes for the better.

The CPSU leadership, headed by Comrade Mikhail S. Gorbachev, expressed the belief that the Sixth CPV Congress would bring about a completely new situation and would take Vietnam to a new stage of development in all fields. The CPSU has not only highly valued and fully supported this realistic correct policy of renovation of the 6th CPV Congress, but also made clear its determination to help make it a success.

The new development of Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation epitomizes the CPV's view that Soviet cooperation and assistance is the core of Vietnam's foreign economic strategy and an important factor in socialist construction in this country.

It should be stressed that in order to undergo such important development, the Vietnamese people and cadres must exert extraordinary efforts in organization and implementation. The spirit of mutually beneficial cooperation and the principle of socialist accounting and business are aimed at linking responsibilities closely to the interests of both sides. In view of this, it is necessary to resolutely eliminate the idea of depending or relying on others, which still remains fairly strong in a large component of cadres as well as in the people.

We must severely criticize and quickly change the irresponsible attitude in honoring commitments and in lavishly and ineffectively using Soviet-aided materials, equipment, machinery and projects. It is necessary to quickly study and re-establish various systems of cooperation in accordance with a new spirit.

The CPV and the CPSU fully agree and are determined to materialize the idea of making Asia and the Pacific a zone of peace, stability, good neighborliness and mutual trust and mutual understanding on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

A nation on the rim of the Pacific whose life is directly affected by any events in the region, the Vietnamese people share the concern and indignation of other nations in the region at the schemes and acts of the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces who are trying to deny genuine peace and stability to this vast, populous region.

In its declining position, the Asia-Pacific strategy of U.S. imperialism, with its reactionary political thinking and its design to achieve world hegemony chiefly by pursuing a policy of violence and stepping up the arms race, is in reality a strategy to rally new forces, including former and newly emerging pro-U.S. forces in the region, to carry out its expansion and aggression plans.

However, since the mid-seventies, along with the new step of qualitative development of the world situation in the post-Vietnam period and the unprecedented growth of socialism and of the forces of peace in Asia and the Pacific, there has emerged a possible premise for establishing a regional security and cooperation system. Under this circumstance, the CPV holds that it is necessary to rally all the forces of independence, democracy and social progress into a deep and broad movement to struggle for peace, security, development and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific with the aim of arriving at an overall, enveloping solution, support the popular movements and the policies of various countries to eliminate nuclear weapons, settle by political means all conflicts

and controversies, respect the right to national self-determination and establish good neighborly ties and relations of peaceful coexistence in a determined effort to turn Asia and the Pacific into a zone of peace and stability.

The Soviet Union and Asian socialist countries such as Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Mongolia, the Afghanistan and the DPRK have put forth peace initiatives aimed at solving problems in the region. Many countries in the South Pacific have advanced the initiative of turning this region into a nuclear-free zone. Of particular interest are the overall peace program for Asia and the Pacific proposed by Comrade Gorbachev at Vladivostok, the New Delhi Indian-Soviet joint statement on the principles for building a world free of nuclear weapons, the joint statement issued by the Asian-Pacific communist and workers parties in July 1987 calling for the establishment of a zone of peace and without nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific, and most recently, the Soviet Union's declaration of its readiness to eliminate all intermediate-range missiles, including those in its Asian territory, on the condition that the United States would do the same. These moves have had widespread repercussions and won warm welcome and support everywhere.

We wish to see an early, reasonable political solution to the Cambodian issue that can secure Cambodia's durable peace, independence and sovereignty, and safeguard the Cambodian people's revolutionary gains. This will be an important factor contributing to peace and stability in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the whole of the Asia-Pacific region.

Vietnam, as well as the Soviet Union, is unswerving in its policy to normalize relations with the PRC, considering this a very necessary condition for bringing about stability in the region.

The relationship between the October Revolution, restructuring in the Soviet Union and renovation in Vietnam is, at the same time, an expression of the law of causality and a process of objective continuity both of which reflect the sole basic goal of working for man's happiness, socialism and lasting peace on earth.

The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution will be the biggest festival for progressive mankind this decade. One must thank the source for the water he is drinking—this is the saying we will repeat from one generation to another in order to bring to mind the great merit of the October Revolution and the great Soviet Union toward the revolution and people of Vietnam.

The Great October Revolution and Our Times

42100003c Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Oct 87 Special Issue pp 11-23

[Article by Vladimir Dolgikh, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] World history is full of memorable dates and outstanding events. Yet, because of its scope and profound impact on mankind's civilization, the great October Socialist Revolution has held a special place in those dates and events. It opened a new era for the struggle to liberate the nations from capitalist oppression and to advance toward socialism and communism.

With the capitalist exploiting system smashed by the October Revolution, 1917 mankind took the first step toward a society free from social inequality, injustice, war and weapons. Ever since the emergence of those memorable dates, the worldwide historic significance of the October Revolution has become more and more evident with each passing year.

Far from being "a side step of history" as the chieftains of the old exploiting system had predicted, October formed the key path of history. It deprived imperialism of the right to determine the fate of the world and the nations, shook the structures of capitalism, which were believed to be everlasting and unchangeable and further aggravated the overall crisis of capitalism. Meanwhile, the birth of the worker-peasant state served as a shining revolutionary example and a source of encouragement for the laboring people worldwide and enabled the oppressed peoples of the colonies to smash the shackles and chains of slavery, to obtain considerable concessions, and to improve their lot.

The socialist era began in 1917. Socialism first started in one country and has now become a worldwide system. Following the first socialist country, other socialist countries have come into existence and formed a powerful and strong socialist community comprising various nations. Compared with the beginning of the 20th century when imperialism had its overall battlefield broken through on one continent, now socialist countries exist on three continents of our planet. When the socialist system was first established, it made up one-sixth of the world's surface and approximately 8 percent of the world population, now the socialist countries occupy one-fourth of the world surface and account for approximately one-third of the world's population. The economic potentials of socialism have been doubled. In 1917, Soviet industrial production accounted for no more than three percent of world industrial production. Now, the industrial production of the socialist countries accounts for more than 40 percent of the world industrial production. As predicted by V.I. Lenin, socialism has become an international force "capable of exerting a decisive influence on the overall international political situation." (Footnote 1) (V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp 41, 202)

October has shed light on the development of the international communist movement which has now become the most influential ideological and political force of the era. According to great Lenin, the existence of a political party provides the fundamental basis for the proletariat to seize power. Ten years after the October Revolution,

communist parties existed in only 46 countries with nearly 1.7 million party members. Now, communist parties are operating in 95 countries with nearly 85 million party members.

The October Revolution has dealt a deadly blow to the colonialist system of imperialism. Commenting on the great impact of Lenin's concepts about the development of the national liberation movement in the colonies, Ho Chi Minh, the outstanding son of the Vietnamese people, stressed: "Lenin was the first to understand and value the overall importance of the attempts to rally the colonial nations in the revolutionary movement and the first to point out that there can be no social revolution without the participation of the colonial nations." Scores of independent and young nations have emerged where there used to be colonies. Those nations now occupy nearly 60 percent of the surface of our planet and account for more than half of the world's population. They are the masters of their own fate and are making history all by themselves.

Great October has become the glorious historic victory of Marxist-Leninist ideologies. These ideologies are the only correct compass in the struggle to win a victory for the socialist revolution and to the building of a new society. The Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin combined scientific socialism with the workers' movement, led the armed uprising of the Russian proletariat; organized the defense of revolutionary gains against enemy violations both at home and abroad; and guided the country along the path of socio-economic progress. For the first time in history, the Bolshevik Party assumed the duty of organizing revolutionary activities to change the orientation of millions of people.

After smashing the counter-revolutionary force in the country and foreign armed intervention, the laboring people of Soviet Russia started the main duty of the revolution, the creative task of transforming society along the socialist line and of building the economy to serve as the first base for the life of millions of people. "Our main policy now is—V.I. Lenin stressed—to build the country economically..." (Footnote 2) (Ibid., p 483) By creatively applying the fundamental principles of scientific communism to the specific conditions of Russia that has been freed from the capitalist shackles, and using his inherent profound and clear-sighted thinking, the leader of the revolution set forth the theoretical bases of socialist construction. Lenin's viewpoint originated from the people's positive participation in the management of all social duties and from the objective necessity for the party's guiding organizational role and its political and ideological leadership.

Lenin's argument about paying full attention to the laws of the economy, about economic planning and accounting, and about skillfully using the goods-money relation and material and spiritual stimulations in dealing with the practical tasks of socialist construction are extremely

significant. Although 70 years or so have elapsed, these ideologies still remain the correct compass for the CPSU to operate and lead the national economy.

Just as V.I. Lenin had foreseen the effect of socialism on the development of the world revolutionary process mainly through its achievements in economic construction, the destiny of the world, the fate of human society's progress can be settled primarily in the area of economic and technological competition between the two systems. "The struggle has shifted to this area around the world. When we can complete this task, we will win a sure and decisive victory in the world." (Footnote 3) (V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp 43 and 410)

Under the party's leadership, within a short historic period the Soviet people have achieved unprecedented reforms in the political, economic, social and spiritual domains. It is understandable that the past 70 years were not a path strewn with roses for the Soviet state. This was the path of the struggle between the new and the old. This was the path rife with serious mistakes, erroneous plans and personal idolatry. Over the past 70 years of the Soviet administration, we had to go through two destructive wars and restore a destroyed economy. Led by the party, the Soviet people have strictly followed the path established by Lenin.

Industrialization has established the material and technical bases for the new society, placed the Soviet Union among the powerful industrial powers and laid the foundation for Soviet national defense capability. Even at the end of the first 5-year plan, the Soviet Union already ranked first in Europe and second in the world in terms of total industrial production volume. The capitalist countries had to take many decades to accomplish such tasks.

In rural areas, instead of small-scale and scattered production by peasants there was large-scale cooperativized production. Lenin's cooperativization plan—a component of the general strategy to build a new society—led peasants on the right path to socialism. The worker-peasant alliance was built on a firm and strong socio-economic foundation.

The cultural revolution made it possible for a majority of the population to become literate and opened the road widely for the laboring people to tap the spiritual assets which mankind has accumulated. The socialist intelligentsia came into being. The Marxist-Leninist ideological system was established as the dominant ideological system in the Soviet people's thought.

In the course of socialist construction, rapid economic, social and cultural progress were secured in the former border areas of the people of various nationalities in

Russia. For the first time in history, the people of all nationalities and tribes became equal and formed a unique international community within the framework of a unified federal state.

The Soviet people had to face many great challenges during the 1941-45 period when the Soviet Union was preventing the advance of fascism which, by that time, had actually enslaved the whole of Europe. The victory at the end of that big war saved not only the Soviet people but European and world civilization as well. Was there any other regime that could withstand such a war and then emerge from the ruins of thousands of cities and villages and successfully restore its damaged economy? The socialist regime, the product of great October, has vividly demonstrated its vitality.

All these achievements demonstrate the effectiveness of the concrete and creative actions in the land of the great October and are the pride of the Soviet people who highly value each year that has gone by in their 70-year history and take pride in their mission of being the vanguard of socialist construction and the inventor of a new kind of civilization.

The value of any socio-economic regime is measured by the wealth and advantages it has given to its people and by the contributions it has made to consolidating mankind's development. Socialism, which had its origin in the Soviet Union, has demonstrated its worldwide significance and superiority over capitalism. The success of great October and the achievements in building a new society have shown that capitalism, labor exploitation and private appropriation of labor results are not "everlasting" institutions. Standing at opposite ends are capitalist social structure versus socialist social structure, the private ownership system versus the collective ownership system, individualistic morality versus collective morality and worship of militarism and military strength versus political reason and a policy of peace and development.

The socialist regime gives the laboring people real power in state and social affairs and insures that people are free to work for themselves and the society. It guarantees sufficient employment opportunities, social security and a secure future. It respects fundamental human rights not through words but through concrete deeds and insures mutual assistance in accordance with the spirit of comradeship. Under the socialist regime, people are guaranteed appropriate material well being: adequate housing; state-provided health care; free medical care for pregnant women; free assistance to children and the elderly; easy access to general education and cultural activities; equal rights between people of different social strata and social groups; and equality between people of different nationalities and tribes.

During the 70 years following great October, the Soviet Union has recorded achievements of truly historic significance in its political and socio-economic development. The national income has increased by nearly 150

times compared with 1917. The gross industrial production output has increased by 330 times, and the gross agricultural production output has expanded by 5.5 times. Actual per capita income exceeds that of the prewar period (1941) by 6.8 times.

Firmly grasping the results and lessons learned during a 70-year trip, our party and people clearly realize that the road was full of both great achievements and serious miscalculations. During the 70's and in the early 80's, the nation missed an opportunity for further development. Difficulties and unsolved problems started to pile up. Factors that eroded society became evident. Trends unknown to socialism emerged. All those incidents led to sluggishness and further aggravated the contradictions in the area of social development. Propelled by inertia, the economy continued to develop in width and became less sensitive to scientific and technological innovations. The social management and production control system became cumbersome and inactive. An authoritarian mechanism emerged and hindered socio-economic development. Bureaucratism and red tape were prevalent. Violations of party and state discipline and other negative phenomena began to emerge.

The causes of those phenomena did not rest with the nature of socialism but with a failure to stay close to socialism. The socialist system has great vitality and is capable of constant self-improvement. Yet, our overall experience clearly shows that this system does not develop its great capabilities and strengths by itself. The building of a new society calls for a creative concept in the field of theory and practice and the resolve to give up commandism and old fashioned habits and methods and requires efforts to work out effective measures aimed at bringing into play the positiveness and creativity of millions of people.

In light of these conditions, the CPSU Central Committee realized the need to achieve positive and fundamental changes in the political and economic as well as social and spiritual fields, trying to push the country along a renovating path. This took place at the CPSU Central Committee's Fifth Plenum in April (1985). The plenum declared a policy to accelerate the country's socio-economic development and reform and qualitatively improve all areas of Soviet society. On the basis of profoundly analyzing in a Marxist-Leninist fashion all the objective evolutionary laws of Soviet society, the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee's plenums held in January and June (1987), as already expounded in their respective resolutions, came up with the idea of achieving perfection and with a strategy for achieving fundamental changes in the welfare, political and socio-economic fields of the Soviet Union in the interests of making full use of the latent potentials of socialism, improving the people's welfare and strengthening the Soviet Union's position in the world.

As Mr M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, put it: "The reform now undertaken in the country is a direct succession to the October

undertaking and is a consistent materialization of those ideals charted under the banner of our revolution which we are going to celebrate its 70th anniversary this year. Reform is the answer to a historic challenge of our time. Our party and our people can meet this challenge just as we did this following the completion of our great socialist revolution and our socialist construction and following the gaining of our victory of internationally historic significance during our great war of national defense."

The reform, inspired by the party, is now taking place under the party leadership. This is to restore the creative spirit of Leninism and thus serve as an example of political boldness and acumen. This testifies to the fact that the Soviet ship of state is being steered by a party that fully realizes its responsibility toward the destiny of socialism, that represents the people's basic interests and that has the ability to insure the constant progress of society and to promptly do away with everything considered outdated and incorrect constraining advancement. What do we know about reform? First, it involves a determination to do away with the state of sluggishness and to create a reliable and effective mechanism capable of stepping up the socio-economic development of the Soviet society. The main purposes of reform are to integrate the fruits of the scientific-technical revolution into the national economy in a planned manner and to mobilize all the latent potentials of socialism to insure constant improvement of the role of those in-depth factors in economic development, to restore and develop Leninist principles about democratic centralism in the management of the national economy. It is necessary to point out here that in developing and perfecting democratic principles, frankness and openness—which play a core role in reform—are very important for attracting all people to the management of social activities.

Reform means a complete turn toward science, trying to truly link science with reality in order to attain the highest end-results. It also shows an interest in further developing the latent potentials of science. In the Soviet Union, there are over 5,000 institutes and organs that deal with science and nearly 1,800 project planning and technical work designing organizations. Over 4.5 million people are working in the fields of science and scientific services. Reform must be carried out in such a way as to insure that these latent potentials are fully exploited in order to help solve the main problems now facing the country.

Reform here implies giving priority to developing the social field, meeting in an ever more complete manner the Soviet people's demands for working, living, recreation, training and medical care. It is necessary to care for and give regular attention to the spiritual well being and the educational level of each person and of the entire society as well as to those practical measures now being taken to do this task. In addition to those plans already approved for consolidating material bases of the social sector, nearly 40 billion rubles have been set aside for use

in the present 5-year plan. One of the main tasks now being resolved is to insure that each family will have a private dwelling or a private home by the year 2000.

Reform implies a determination to make society free from distortions of socialist ethics and to positively exercise principles of social justice. This requires that one's words must match one's own deeds and that there must be a harmony between authority and responsibility. This also involves upholding genuine labor and high output and doing away with a tendency to favor egalitarianism in remunerating for work done and with consumerism.

In our country, there are bases for going ahead with the whole restructuring process. The strong economic, scientific-technological and intellectual potentials created during the years under the Soviet administration allow us to move forward not in some specific directions but on the entire front of social progress.

The party has set the task of switching within a short historic period of time to a planned and highly efficient economy and doubling the country's productive capacity by the year 2000 by basically improving its technological level. The resolution adopted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum held in June this year is aimed at realizing these objectives. This plenum was an event of great political and socio-economic significance. This is due first of all to the fact that the thoughts and practical guidelines of the plenum are related to the restructuring and consolidation of our society's foundation—the socialist economy. The documents approved at the plenum, which develop to an even higher degree of creativeness the party's line for restructuring and acceleration, profoundly asserted the feasibility of basic restructuring in the economic domain.

This restructuring is aimed at reorienting economic development from intermediate results to final results that are of significance in the social field, transforming scientific-technological advances and the economical use of resources into key factors for developing social production and insuring the organic combination of the interests of society, the collective and each individual laborer. The true essence of the new enterprise system is to shift from leadership methods that are mainly administrative to economic leadership methods and to the broad democratization of leadership, and develop by all means the human factor and socialist resourcefulness.

This is the most profound and largest economic restructuring in the history of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. It is of a comprehensive nature, encompassing all material production sectors, all levels of leadership over material production and all key levers of the economic mechanism.

The inception of the new management system stems first of all from the need to create the most favorable economic conditions for the effective operation of the

national economy's fundamental link which is composed of socialist enterprises. To achieve this goal, regulations have been adopted to broaden by a considerable degree the independence of enterprises, effect a shift to full economic accountability and self-procurement of capital and enhance their sense of responsibility for honoring the commitments made toward consumers. It has been established that the income level of the collective and the capacity for resolving social tasks are directly decided by the result of the collective's final work. The statutes, rights and obligations of enterprises, the fundamental principles of business and the broad participation of the laboring masses in management are spelled out in the Law of State Enterprises (United Enterprises) which was passed at the seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet after being discussed by the entire people.

Another important orientation is to radically restructure economic leadership and enhance its quality, with attention focused on key issues to determine the strategies, tempo and rates for intensifying development of the national economy depthwise. Therefore, various ministries have experienced fundamental changes in their functions. Ministries must become the staff organs of sectors in the scientific-technological and planning-economic fields, do away with their inconsequential sponsorship for enterprises and be held fully responsible for meeting the country's demand for suitable products.

What is of great significance is the radical restructuring of planning—the main instrument for carrying out economic policies—as well as the improvement in price fixing, the financial-credit mechanism, material-technical supply, management of scientific-technological advances, management of social progress and management of external economic relations.

The fundamental readjustment of the system for setting labor norms and paying wages has also been raised for enforcement. Here, there are three aspects of special importance. First, it is necessary to completely do away with "egalitarianism" in remuneration which has spread widely among enterprises and become a serious impediment to the effort to further increase labor productivity and improve product quality; second, it is necessary to observe correct rates of remuneration for different types of laborers and maintain certain priorities for persons working under more complex production conditions and in unpopulated areas; and third, it is necessary to put into practice a new concept of material incentives according to which the possibility of wage increases is directly dependent on the enterprise's economic activities and is funded with the money realized by the laboring collective. All this is aimed at implementing more fully the following principle of socialism: to work according to one's capability and to earn according to one's work.

Shifting the economy to the new system of management and business is not a temporary act but a process with various stages. Starting from 1988, all enterprises

belonging to various industrial sectors, which currently account for nearly two-thirds of the gross product, and the transportation sector will operate on the basis of full economic accounting with self-acquired funds. The task of shifting to these operational principles will conclude definitely in 1989.

We will have to carry out a colossal organizational task to embark on the subsequent 5-year plan with a well-disposed and effective economic mechanism. The absolutely indispensable condition for a successful performance of this task is the effort to improve the professional and political levels of cadres, thus enabling them to most quickly grasp the modern methods of leadership and instill in all laborers a desire to work under a new style with maximum efficiency and productivity and a high sense of responsibility toward their assignments.

In restructuring economic management, our party has set forth a task of historic significance, that is, to vigorously accelerate the process of social renovation and comprehensively develop its quality in accordance with the spirit of the revolution, a process that was initiated by the great October Revolution.

Our country has gone almost one-third of the path under the itinerary of the 12th 5-Year Plan and has scored certain achievements along that path. The rate of industrial growth has surpassed the tasks set forth for the 5-year plan with increased efficiency. The increase in overall production among the most important national economic sectors seems to have totally been insured by the increase in labor productivity. However, economic development still lacks necessary dynamism and high efficiency.

Life has taught us that we must dexterously combine the settlement of long-term issues with the performance of immediate specific tasks; this is also the question posed by Lenin. Today, the task of consolidating the sense of organization and responsibility in production by all disciplinary means and the task of improving the quality of products, increasing labor productivity, and unreservedly applying the system of economization are of special significance.

The success of the October Revolution marked the emergence of a new style system of state, in terms of principles, and of a new-style democracy. A worker-peasant state was established for the first time in history. The Soviet political system has gone through extensive development; that system has also been improved and undergone new changes. After fulfilling its historic mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been changed into the administration of all laboring people while the proletarian state has been changed into the all-people state. The participation of the people in the management of all national and social affairs has been stepped up and new forms of democracy based on representation and direct election have emerged.

Meanwhile, complexities and contradictions have also been revealed in the process of developing socialist democracy. It is impossible for us to insure a correct combination of centralism and democracy at any time. The methods of management designed for a specific period of time have been mistakenly considered to be absolutely suitable to and maintained under a situation that has been changed.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee plenum in January (1987) pointed out that only through the continuous development of various original forms of democracy of socialism and through the expansion of the system of self-management can we make headway. Only through or by relying on the system of democracy can we affect self-reformation. Only in this way can we open up immense space to the mighty and creative forces of socialism. For this reason, measures are being adopted uniformly to expand the rights and enhance the role of Supreme Soviet deputies at all levels and consolidate relations between these deputies and the masses. A matter of special importance is that we must enhance the sense of responsibility of all local administrative organs over the task of insuring comprehensive socio-economic development in all regions, provinces and cities aimed at more abundantly satisfying the needs of the people.

One of our country's primary tasks is to develop democracy in production, with the understanding that democracy encompasses three aspects: the active participation of various collectives in adopting and implementing all resolutions; the election of leaders from production unit leaders to general directors; and the maintenance and consolidation, on a democratic basis, of the one manager system in the management of enterprises. The labor collective councils set up in enterprises must make an active effort to promote this task.

Today, restructuring is not only a political theory and motto but also a reality in our society. It has achieved moral and ideological success and popular support. This is hard evidence of the correctness of our chosen path and a guarantee of the irreversibility of the restructuring process once it has started.

Restructuring has proceeded both in breadth and depth, encompassing all the new layers of social life. Positive changes have taken place in development of the democratic system, achievement of a series of socio-economic tasks, promotion of intellectual activities and construction of a society that is more healthy morally. The main thing now is for us to increase the tempo of restructuring through all means, shifting its focus to careful and oriented development of organizational, political and ideological work in all aspects of our domestic and foreign policies.

The present socio-political profile of our planet has been molded by the decisive effects of the historic changes initiated or encouraged by the October Revolution. The

October Revolution has influenced the national liberation movement in continental Asia. Its shining example and Lenin's doctrine have strongly propelled the revolutionary movement even in Vietnam, in the latter's struggle against colonialist oppression. This road to freedom and independence was a long and tragic one. The Soviet people take pride in the fact that, in all stages of this struggle, Lenin's party always stood on the side of the heroic Vietnamese people.

The Soviet-Vietnamese relationship is a model of proletarian socialist internationalism in action. Today, the principles of internationalism not only determine the contents and forms of relations between the CPSU and the CPV, they guide relations between the USSR and the SRV in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields. They have also become the common basis of action for our two countries in the international arena.

The moving force behind Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation is the unanimity between the CPSU and the CPV. The immutable characteristic of relations between our two parties is our profound mutual trust and comradely concern for each other's success. Over the past years, these relations have developed on a particularly large scale. Today, they encompass all levels—from the party central committees to basic party organizations. The regular meetings between CPSU and CPV leaders have been of foremost significance in the cooperation between our two parties. During these meetings there have been friendly and frank exchanges of views on the hottest issues of our time, and the basic issues of socialist and communist construction and strategic orientations have been determined for our coordinated actions.

The talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, held in May 1987, once again showed complete identity of views on all issues concerning bilateral relations and the world situation. The two sides expressed their wish to continue the policy of consolidating bilateral relations as stipulated in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1978 and the Long-Term Program for Development of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation signed in 1983.

Over the past few decades, our economic, scientific and technological cooperation has been marked by a comprehensive character and a significant scale. Suffice it to say that since the first documents were signed in 1955, the amount of goods exchanged between the two sides has increased by more than a few hundred times. As previously, the Soviet Union has sent machinery, various kinds of equipment, petroleum products and consumer goods to Vietnam. In our country, our people have become quite familiar with Vietnam's traditional exports such as natural rubber, tin, coffee, tea and handicraft products. During those years, with Soviet assistance, Vietnam has built more than 250 projects of

all types in all economic fields. As for the SRV's present potentials, we can judge from the activities of the Hanoi Machine Tool Factory; the Vietnamese-Soviet oil joint venture, which has begun to produce oil; the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant; and many other workshops and plants.

The potentials of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation are considerable. During the high-level talks in Moscow in May, it was stressed that the expanding scale of our two countries' coordinated efforts and the new approaches to the socio-economic development problems set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 6th CPV Congress urgently call for a serious restructuring of all Soviet-Vietnamese relations and an improvement of their quality, along with stricter calculations of each other's needs and capabilities. To achieve this objective, our two countries are looking for new forms of coordinated actions in the economic field and are working to promote joint ventures and specialization in production and to broaden cooperation not only at the state level but also at the ministerial, united enterprise and enterprise levels. Joint Soviet-Vietnamese ventures are being established in agriculture, industry, small industry and transportation. We entertain high hopes for stepping up the development of economic and scientific relations between the far eastern region of the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Measures are also being applied to broaden cooperation in the production and processing of agricultural products and the production of consumer goods and to develop in Vietnam fuel-energy complexes, communications and transportation and even machine making, electronics, chemicals and mining industries.

As previously, our cooperation in training skilled workers and scientific and technical cadres still has great significance. At present, more than 30,000 young Vietnamese men and women are working at various Soviet factories and plants in our common interests. More than 3,000 Vietnamese candidate doctors and doctors of science have been trained in the Soviet Union. We are pleased to learn that graduates from Soviet colleges and universities are playing a significant role in the SRV's economic, educational, cultural, scientific and public health services. Among them are ministers and leading enterprise cadres, and well known party and state officials, scientists, economists and social workers. Many of them are being retrained at the various academies of social sciences directly subordinate to the CPSU Central Committee and at the National Economic Academy directly subordinate to the Soviet Union Council of Ministers and at other Soviet colleges and universities. This form of cooperation represents no small source of manpower reserve for Vietnam in expeditiously raising the level of professionalism of its cadres and specialists without whom it will be impossible to successfully carry out the increasing tasks of socialist construction.

The USSR and SRV cooperate closely in promoting economic integration among CEMA member countries,

in improving various economic systems and in implementing the general program of scientific and technological advances. This will certainly help accelerate the development of the SRV's national economy, thereby enabling the country to participate more broadly in the socialist international division of labor.

The great October Revolution started the process of radically transforming the entire system of international relations. The Peace Decree was the first appeal addressed by the successful revolution to mankind. One of the most profound and effective ideas of Lenin was the concept of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems. In the world of today, there is no rational alternative to this concept. To mankind, a hot nuclear war will be suicidal. Nowadays, success in the struggle for mankind's survival is an indispensable condition for achieving any task—political, economic, social or humanitarian. This is the essence of the new political thinking and the new philosophy of peace.

Basing ourselves on the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, we are actively and tirelessly struggling to prevent nuclear war, achieve disarmament and build a comprehensive international security system. The peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, which reflect the interests of the entire socialist community and progressive mankind, are aimed at liquidating all nuclear weapons and other mass destruction weapons before the year 2000 and settling world crises. These initiatives have won increasingly broader socio-political support in different parts of the world. Socialism and peace are inseparable. As stressed by the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress, socialism absolutely rejects war as a means to solve political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes between countries. Our ideal is a world free of violence, a world in which each nation can freely choose its own path to development and its own way of life. This is a manifestation of humanitarianism of the communist ideology and its moral values. For this reason, even in the future, the main direction of our party's activity in the international arena will still be to struggle against the danger of nuclear war and the arms race, for the preservation and consolidation of common peace. The realization of this position will allow mankind to enter the 21st century in the conditions of peace.

In its external political activities, the Soviet Union follows with keen interest the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, the homeland of more than half of mankind. In an address delivered in Vladivostok in July 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a peace-loving program of action intended for this part of the world that plays an important role in international life. This program was embodied and developed in the interview granted by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Indonesian paper MERDEKA. Our proposal for the liquidation of intermediate-range missiles in Europe has provoked widespread and positive reaction. In our firm belief, the realization of all our initiatives will bring about a radical

change for the better in the climate of continental Asia and will raise the quality of this vast region's security to a new level. The consultative meeting of the Asia-Pacific communist and democratic-revolutionary parties in Ulan Bator in early July 1987 made a worthy contribution to achieving this lofty task.

Today, in the basis of the experiences of Europe and of other continents on our planet, and also on the basis of all the experiences of international life, we can say that the Soviet Union's general viewpoint on the issue of insuring security of Asia and the Pacific has been accepted by all people in this region. Bilateral and multilateral consultations as well as unofficial exchanges of views in connection with this issue are taking place. In the course of these contacts, more and more consenting voices have been heard, creating in the region an atmosphere of good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation. All this has convinced us that the suggestion made by the Soviet Union for holding in the future an all-Asia conference to exchange views and to seek together constructive measures will eventually become a reality. We propose that all Asian countries enforce this proposal on the basis of equal and constructive cooperation.

Our country proceeds from the position that all proposals aimed at achieving the aforementioned objective must become an integral part of the shaping of a security system and lasting peace in the Asia-Pacific region. In compliance with this internationalist idea, the Soviet Union has consistently supported the proposals made time and again by Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to improve the situation in Southeast Asia and establish good neighborly relations with the ASEAN countries; supported Mongolia's initiative concerning the signing of a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific countries; supported the DPRK's proposals for peaceful national unification; supported the constructive efforts of India and other countries in Asia. In the struggle to insure peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, the Soviet Union attaches great importance to supporting the Indochinese countries' efforts aimed at normalizing the situation around the PRK and consolidating this country's international stature. The constructive proposals made by Vietnam and Cambodia are also actively serving this objective. We are convinced that in spite of the difficulties and the extremely diversified political and economic viewpoints in the region, the nations in the Asia-Pacific region will be able to create there an atmosphere of good neighborliness, friendship and cooperation. The Soviet Union is prepared to act in coordination with anyone who sincerely wishes to achieve these objectives. Thus, for 70 years already the ideals of the October Revolution have urged us to work creatively and struggle self-denyingly for socialism and peace. The past decades have proven that the more powerful socialism is, the more lasting peace becomes. The communist party and people of the Soviet Union greet the 70th anniversary of the great October in an atmosphere of unbreakable

singlemindedness. They are redoubling their efforts to accelerate socio-economic development, to carry out restructuring and to renovate all domains of social life. The coming anniversary of our motherland is not only a festive day but also an occasion for us to take stock of our forces and the achievements of socialism.

Together with other socialist countries, the Soviet Union and Vietnam are taking the lead in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, for freedom and independence, and for social progress. The Soviet people take pride in the high level of their fraternal relations with the heroic Vietnamese people. The achievements of the Soviet Union, socialist Vietnam and all other socialist countries on the road to the grandiose objectives set by the great October Revolution are indisputable. Loyalty to the ideals of the October Revolution, with internationalism and with Marxism-Leninism—this is an iron-clad guarantee of our coming successes.

The Great October Forum

The Cornerstone of Vietnam's Foreign Policy

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[Article by Nguyen Co Thach]

[Text] Editorial Note: on the occasion of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the great October socialist revolution, we have received numerous articles from leaders of various departments and sectors, from comrades engaged in theoretical research, from distinguished personalities, intellectuals and many readers on the topics: the October Revolution; the growth of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary forces of the world following the October Revolution; Vietnam-Soviet friendship.

We have been publishing a number of these articles since the April 1987 issue. In this special issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN, we are printing several more under the "The Great October Forum." The remaining articles will be presented in coming issues.

Since the founding of the party and especially since the birth of Vietnam's worker-peasant state, our party and state have always considered the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union as the cornerstone of Vietnam's foreign policy.

This principled policy stems from the revolutionary character of our state and from the great contributions of the Russian October Revolution to the cause of liberating mankind as well as nations from oppression and exploitation. At the same time, it stems from the great Soviet assistance to the long and extremely dangerous and difficult struggle of the Vietnamese people to liberate, reunify and advance their country toward socialism.

Mankind was oppressed and exploited for 10,000 years. The Russian October Revolution has opened a new era, an era in which the world peoples liberate themselves from all oppression and build a new society without human exploitation. The Russian October Revolution is a source of encouragement and a firm mainstay for all oppressed classes and nations to rise up and smash all shackles and to build a new life of freedom and happiness.

If the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries belonged to colonialists and imperialists who used their gunboats to conquer and enslave nations the world over, the 20th century, encouraged by the October Revolution—is the century during which colonialism collapsed and hundreds of independent countries were born.

The Soviet Union is the pioneer in searching for and blazing the trail toward building socialism and communism. Along this "wilderness" path, the Soviet Union has endured many sacrifices, losses and mistakes and has also achieved many great victories. The 27th CPSU Congress recapitulated the past experiences, successes and setbacks and is advancing the Soviet Union to a higher qualitative stage, bringing into full play the superiority of socialism. Seventy years after the October Revolution, socialism originating from one country has become a world system, accounting for more than 40 percent of the world industrial production volume. The Soviet Union's experiences constitute very valuable assets to socialist countries and to mankind. The Vietnamese people consider these experiences as priceless in their socialist construction.

The Soviet Union has opened a new era for international relations. Together with other socialist countries, it has built a new system of relations based on the principles of equality and friendly cooperation and on the spirit of socialist internationalism. Together with other socialist countries, the Soviet Union has struggled for a healthy international relationship and peaceful coexistence in order to settle all disputes peacefully and for a world without weapons nor war.

The extremely great sacrifices endured by the Soviet Union during World War II saved mankind from the disaster of fascism. While the Soviet Union was still economically inferior to the United States, the Soviet people had to sacrifice much to maintain a powerful national defense system serving as a fortress for world peace. What would have been the world people's fate if the United States alone had nuclear weapons? At the same time, the fully responsible efforts of the Soviet Union play a decisive role in disarmament and are particularly saving mankind from a nuclear disaster.

The Soviet Union was the first country to bring mankind into space exploration.

If in human history, many states have caused and are causing disasters to mankind, the Soviet people are the only people who have made the greatest sacrifices and have simultaneously made the greatest contributions to the happiness of mankind.

These are the epochal bases in our party and state policy of solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Our principled policy toward the Soviet Union is further based on the role which the Soviet Union directly plays in our people's revolutionary cause.

We can say that had there not been the Russian October Revolution, there would not have been an Indochinese Communist Party, the precursor of today's CPV. Had the Red Soviet troops not defeated German fascism and Japanese militarism, the 1945 August Revolution in Vietnam would never have occurred. Had the Soviet Union not been powerful, Vietnam would not have been able to defeat French colonialism, U.S. imperialism and international reactionaryism, and there would be no SRV. Had there been no Soviet assistance, Vietnam would not have been able to build socialism out of a backward economy bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

In the past half century or more, Vietnamese-Soviet friendship has been built and intensified daily in the flame of the struggle for national liberation and socialist construction of the Vietnamese people. During the struggle of resistance against French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, our party and people correctly combined national strength with the strength of the era, bringing into full play international solidarity, primarily with the Soviet Union, which allowed us to defeat the most aggressive arch-imperialists of the era and firmly defend Vietnam's revolutionary gains. At the same time, through the great sacrifices and glorious victories of those two historic matches of force, our nation made worthy contributions to consolidating the strength of the Soviet Union and world socialism, seriously weakening U.S.-led imperialism and creating favorable conditions for the vigorous development of African, Asian and Latin American nations.

The great victories of the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples in 1975 completely ended U.S. neocolonialism in Indochina and led to the appearance of the three socialist Indochinese countries. The 1979 victory of the Cambodian revolution eliminated the Pol Pot genocidal regime fostered by foreign reactionaries to oppose and attack Vietnam and to divide and sabotage the Indochinese solidarity bloc. A new situation has appeared with the birth of the PRK, that is the close solidarity among the three socialist Indochinese countries and between these countries and the Soviet Union to defend and build their respective countries. The Vietnamese-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation signed on 3 November, 1978 raised the Vietnamese-Soviet relationship to a new

qualitative level, initiated the stage of comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and served as an effective tool to support the socialist construction and national defense of Vietnam and the Soviet Union in the coming years.

Now, in light of the 6th CPV Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress, the Vietnamese-Soviet relationship has entered a new stage. Both countries have fully agreed on the policy of renovation and reorganization and the socio-economic development line, as well as the international line, and both have closely coordinated with each other in the common struggle for world peace, national independence and social progress, as well as for peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

Our party and people fully support the broad, profound and positive reorganization in all fields of socio-economic life which is taking place in the Soviet Union. Just like our party general secretary, Nguyen Van Linh, said during his visit to the Soviet Union in May 1987: "With the revolutionary line of reorganization adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in January 1987, the great achievements of the October Revolution and socialism over the past 70 years have been raised to a new historic stature, manifesting the creative strength of Marxism-Leninism in both theoretical and practical fields and serving as extremely valuable lessons of experience for the fraternal parties to draw upon and apply to the specific conditions of their countries."

Encouraged by the 27th CPSU Congress, our 6th Party Congress upheld its determination to effect profound renovation in all spheres of socio-economic life so as to continue pushing the country forward. To carry out the big and complex tasks set forth at the 6th Congress, a pressing requirement now facing us is to enhance the effectiveness of cooperation with the Soviet Union in all fields—political, economic, scientific-technological, cultural and ideological. Only by resolutely doing away with the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidization, renovating thinking, conduct and cadre organization and renovating the mechanism of cooperation with the Soviet Union can we enhance the effectiveness of cooperation. Our party and people highly appreciate the realistic measures undertaken by the Soviet party and government to restructure and enhance the effectiveness of cooperation with Vietnam with the aim of "making Vietnam become stronger, stand firm on its own two feet and advance forward" as asserted by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev. For our part, we are also resolved to move in this direction. On 7 May recently, our Party Central Committee Political Bureau reviewed Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation over the past 10 years, pinpointed the causes of our subjective mistakes, and decided to renovate all the Vietnamese-Soviet economic relations and shift them to higher forms of cooperation along the line of effecting socialist economic integration, specializing and cooperativizing production, eliminating the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state

subsidization, completely switching over economic accountability in socialist enterprise, and diversifying the methods and formats of cooperation at all three levels—government, sector and enterprise—while linking responsibilities to the interests of both sides. This renovation by us is highly consistent with the restructuring process in the Soviet Union. With the renovative spirit of the 27th Congress and the 6th Congress and with the fine results of Comrade Nguyen Van Linh's visit to the Soviet Union, which are manifested by the signing of a series of important agreements on economic cooperation, it is certain that Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation in the coming period will reflect a new step of qualitative development in shifting from a relationship of assistance, chiefly in the field of trade, to a higher form of cooperation in production, thus marking an important turning point in bilateral relations and creating favorable conditions for us to better exploit our potentials and participate more deeply and broadly in the socialist international division of labor.

We are convinced that Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation serves not only as the paragon of fraternal militant solidarity but also as a shining example of the relationship between an industrially developed country and an economically backward country as well as a shining example of a developed socialist country helping an economically backward socialist country get nearer to the development level of advanced socialist countries.

Given the current situation in the Asia-Pacific region and in light of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speech at Vladivostok (28 July 1987), Vietnam and the Soviet Union are playing an important role in the struggle for peace, security and cooperation in this region and the rest of the world. Over the past 40 years and more, the Asia-Pacific region has always had the greatest number of local wars in the world. The growth of the Soviet Union, the victories won by revolutionary forces in Asia and the defeats sustained by U.S. imperialism in the seventies have completely changed the situation in this large region in favor of peace and revolution. The famous statement by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev at Vladivostok and the joint Indian-Soviet declaration in New Delhi (November 1986) define the program of action aimed at consolidating peace, security and cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit for all countries in Asia and the Pacific. In the past 40 years, Southeast Asia has been one of the hottest spots in Asia and the world. Also in the past 40 years, the three Indochinese countries have been victims of protracted wars of aggression and have been bombarded by the largest amount of bombs and shells. The historic victories won by the three Indochinese people, which were defeats sustained by U.S. imperialism and reactionary forces, led to the formation of the two groups of Indochinese and ASEAN countries and created the practical possibility of peaceful coexistence among countries in the region. Against this background, friendship and solidarity between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and coordination between the three Indochinese countries

and the latter constitute a factor of great importance for resolving the issue of peace and stability in Southeast Asia as well as in the whole of Asia and the Pacific.

Our party and people highly value the unswerving Soviet stand in the three Indochinese countries' struggle for peace, stability and good neighborly cooperation in Southeast Asia and sincerely thank the Soviet Union for such a stand. This is a manifestation of the unanimity between the two parties and countries in resolving the problems in Southeast Asia as well as in Asia as a whole. The strong Soviet support to the three Indochinese countries was asserted once again in Comrade Gorbachev's statement during Comrade Nguyen Van Linh's visit to the Soviet Union: "The Soviet Union unswervingly supports the efforts of the SRV, the LPDR and the PRK to build the bases of socialism, safeguard their independence and national sovereignty and consolidate the fraternal alliance and comprehensive cooperation among the three countries—an important factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia." Coordinating closely with the Soviet Union in Asia and the Pacific, the three Indochinese countries advocate a policy of politically resolving the Cambodian issue on the basis of permanently eliminating the Pol Pot genocidal regime, insuring the firm maintenance of Cambodia's revolutionary gains and creating a framework for peaceful coexistence in Southeast Asia to the benefit of peace and socialism in the region.

Commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution by looking back at the path of developing Vietnamese-Soviet relationship, we have adequate grounds on which to assert the truth that if we want to proceed from a backward economy to accomplish the transition to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, it is indispensable to secure Soviet support and assistance and to cooperate with the Soviet Union, the first and the biggest and strongest socialist state. This eloquently corroborates Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc's observation when he appealed to colonized nations: "It is necessary to turn toward the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union—the sole country in today's world which can give absolutely loyal, fraternal, impartial and equal assistance to oppressed nations."

Following President Ho Chi Minh's teaching, our party and people pledge to remain loyal forever to the line of close solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, considering it the cornerstone in the foreign policy of our party and state, the sacred sentiment of each Vietnamese, and the firm guarantee for our people to victoriously implement the 6th Party Congress resolution, and advance toward successfully building socialism in Vietnam. At the same time, with a vigorous spirit of renovation, we pledge to fulfill our duty to enhance the results of Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation, make the Vietnamese-Soviet relationship a model one between the two fraternal countries in building socialism

and fulfill the requirements and interests of the Vietnamese and the Soviet peoples, and the interests of socialism, peace and progress in the world.

We unite and cooperate comprehensively with the Soviet Union in order to carry out Comrade Gorbachev's statement at the end of his talks with Comrade Nguyen Van Linh last May: the Soviet Union must be strong, Vietnam must be strong.

The Party of V.I. Lenin—The Party of the Greatest Social Changes

42100003e Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 31-33

[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh]

[Text] Seventy years have passed since the great October Socialist Revolution, the revolution that shattered a large section of the old world, one-sixth of the old world, and began a process of worldwide change based on the principles of humanism, labor and peace—the principles that lie at the very heart of socialism. President Ho Chi Minh said: "Like the sun, the light of the October Revolution shines on all five continents, awakening millions of oppressed and exploited persons on earth. Never before in the history of man has there been a revolution of such enormous and far reaching importance." (Footnote 1) (Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 461)

The soul of this great revolution was V.I. Lenin. The organizer and leader was the Russian Bolshevik Party, the first new-style proletarian party in the world.

It was a party that was born, grew and was forged into steel in a revolutionary struggle that lasted for years and assumed a wide variety of forms. In particular, the party was forged in the revolutionary storm of 1905, in the February 1917 revolution and then in a process that lasted for only several months, from February to November 1917, but was filled with incidents of spirited, complex, fierce, extraordinary and wide-ranging struggle, several months which, from the standpoint of the revolutionary experience gained, were the equivalent of dozens of normal years.

It was a party seasoned in struggle against the cruelest capitalist-landowner dictatorship of the times, in defeating one ideological and political movement after another, from bourgeois and petty bourgeois movements to "leftist" and rightist opportunist movements and dogmatic and revisionist movements of every shade.

It is impossible to envision the October Revolution winning victory without such a party.

Powers representing the old world in and outside Russia never suspected that their "paradise" could be overturned, that the "sacred" principles of private ownership

and exploitation, which they considered to be "naturally" associated with the "essence" of mankind, could be overturned. Thus, from Kolchak and Denikin, from the generals and colonels of the Russian Imperial White Guard to the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, from domestic revolutionary powers to the 14 foreign imperialist powers, all these "sacred allies" hated the revolution so much it drove them into rage. They joined together in a vain effort to crush the young Soviet administration by means of a very cruel counter-revolutionary civil war and war of intervention. However, Russia, the child of the October Revolution, bravely won victory under the brilliant leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin.

Thus, a situation had been created which permitted the Bolshevik Party to turn its hands to basic social reforms. The great program to advance to socialism began with the new economic policy, a policy which, in order to have it accepted, Lenin had to work hard to persuade very staunch communists of that time to adopt new thinking. For revolutionaries whose thinking was that communism could be achieved merely by taking one more step forward, this was a very difficult change to make. They now had to accept a policy that seemingly restored capitalism, a policy that made state capitalism the path to socialism. This was very difficult for communists who possessed plenty of revolutionary zeal but lacked the scientific knowledge to understand.

However, the new economic policy quickly produced visible results. In only 3 years, the economy had been revived, workers and peasants were back at work and the alliance of workers and peasants had been strengthened upon a new base, an economic base. The political, economic and social conditions had been created for a basic restructuring and reform campaign. In the space of less than four 5-year plans, by means of industrialization, agricultural collectivization and the cultural revolution, the construction of the bases of socialism was completed in the late 1930's.

If war is the most serious and severe challenge to a social system, the Soviet Union's victory over fascism in World War II was eloquent proof of the vitality and invincible strength of the Soviet system. The Soviet Union not only saved mankind from the scourge of fascism, but also created the conditions for the revolution to win victory in a host of countries in Europe and Asia, thus bringing socialism beyond the framework of a single country and making it a world system—an event recorded in history as the most important event following the October Revolution.

Under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet people rapidly restored their country, a country in which some 20 million persons were killed and one-third of national assets were destroyed during the war, and continued down the path of building and developing socialism. In the last quarter century alone, national income has risen

four-fold, industrial output has increase five-fold, agricultural output has increased 1.7 times, national income per capita has risen 2.6 times and the various social consumption funds have more than quadrupled. During the 70 years since the October Revolution, the national assets of the Soviet Union have increased by more than 50 times. This figure exceeds the growth rate of the United States during the same period by more than 10 times.

The great October Socialist Revolution liberated the Soviet people from social diseases and calamities that still weigh heavily upon many nations of the world. No longer is there any exploitation of man by man. There is no unemployment. There is no oppression of nationalities. There is no hunger or illiteracy. The working people live with social guarantees, with confidence in tomorrow.

One question that can be asked is: if the achievements of socialism are so large, why has the CPSU raised the issue of a "revolutionary restructuring" and does not this seemingly indicate dissatisfaction with the past?

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev, has provided the most accurate answer: "Our achievements are large and obvious. The Soviet people have a right to be proud of the achievements they have recorded. These achievements provide a solid foundation for implementing present plans and realizing our intentions for the future. However, the party must view life in all its aspects and complexities. No achievement, not even the greatest, can conceal the contradictions in the development of society or our mistakes and shortcomings." (Footnote 2) (Report at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 27 January 1987)

The price paid for the above has been high: in the stage of transition from the 1970's to the 1980's, stagnation emerged in different areas of Soviet society, exacerbating unresolved difficulties and problems and phenomena alien to socialism. Deeply analyzing the causes of these negative factors, the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Congress, in particular, and the plenum held in January of this year set forth a program to restructure all aspects of social life.

Thus, the CPSU has once again brandished the banner of social change. The only difference this time is that socialist society is changing itself on the basis of itself. The restructuring campaign is the continuation of the cause that began with the October Revolution. It is a revolution within a great revolution. The industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, the cultural revolution, the resolution of the nationalities question on the basis of the principles of socialism...all these have been revolutions. Now, it is the restructuring campaign. All these socio-economic processes have their roots in the essence of the October Revolution. All have stemmed from the goals and ideals of the great revolution. All have taken place under the revolutionary and

creative banner of Marxism-Leninism. And, all were proposed and promoted by this the most representative of the new style parties. It is a party which, from the perspective of revolutionary experience, experience in toppling an old regime as well as experience in building and creating the new society, is unsurpassed. It is the party of V.I. Lenin. This party from an objective standpoint, not as a result of anyone's desires, has been and is fulfilling the historic mission of worldwide significance as the party blazing the trail and opening the way to socialism and communism.

In the restructuring campaign, the CPSU is setting a bright example of creative development of revolutionary theory as a prerequisite to leading the development of society and also a prerequisite to insuring loyalty to Marxism- Leninism.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has gone down in history as a lesson in squarely facing the truth, as a valuable, universal and everlasting philosophical, political and ethical lesson. Displaying courage in theory and in practical actions, evaluating the situation in a practical, forthright and open manner and displaying a relentless attitude toward everything that is outmoded and incorrect and impeding progress, these are eloquent proof of the party's strength.

Through its line on restructuring, on accelerating socioeconomic development on the basis of intensive development and making maximum use of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, the CPSU has shown that it can and must not only see the mistakes that have been made in the past, but must, more importantly, chart a new course and develop new solutions that lie within the framework of socialism with the aim of advancing its cause and moving ahead without veering from the orbit of socialism in order to make the country more socialist and more democratic and magnify the values of socialism many times.

The land of the Soviets has turned itself around, has caught its breath. The new momentum that has been created is strong and cannot be impeded. The entire world is looking to the Soviet Union, to the motherland of October, of the great Lenin with hearts filled with confidence. The Vietnamese, the communists of Vietnam, inspired by the spirit of change of the 6th Congress, are filled with confidence. We are confident in ourselves and even more confident in the Soviet Union and our confidence in the Soviet Union gives us greater confidence in ourselves.

The CPSU will surely find appropriate answers to the new challenges that face socialism in this stage tantamount to a turning point on the threshold of the 21st century. The Soviet people, under the leadership of the CPSU, will surely successfully meet the great goals of making the Soviet Union the most developed socialist country with the highest level of economic development in terms of economic efficiency and scientific-technical

advances, with the broadest democracy and the highest social ethics, and fully developing the inherent potentials of socialism so that the life of man is richer both materially and spiritually, thereby making the greatest possible contribution to raising the socialist world to a new and higher level and advancing to win decisive victories for socialism in the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale.

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The Soviet Union—Pillar of World Peace

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[Article by Hoang Bich Son]

[Text] The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union embodies the finest democratic traditions of a long historical process in the relations among peoples and nations. The peculiar feature of this policy is that it stems from the essence of the socialist system, a system free of the discrimination, domination and exploitation associated with previous socio-economic systems. With the birth of a new social system as a result of the great October Revolution, the entire trend of development of the world fell under the influence of this revolutionary factor. As Lenin said: "Since the first day of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the matters of primary importance to us." (Footnote 1) (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 37, p 182)

On 8 November 1917, one day after the success of the October Revolution, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted the Decree on Peace. The Soviet government appealed to the nations and governments fighting one another to end the world war and sign a treaty concluding a fair and democratic peace. The Soviet Union proclaimed the principle of proletarian internationalism in its relations with the nations struggling against imperialism and colonialism and the principle of peaceful coexistence in its relations with the capitalist countries. We have also learned that in September 1915, as World War I raged on, Lenin stated that once they seized political power, the Bolsheviks "would propose peace with all warring countries provided that the colonies and all dependent, oppressed and disenfranchised nations are liberated" (Footnote 2) (Ibid., Volume 27, p 64) However, despite the readiness of the Soviet Union to immediately sign equal treaties, the imperialists continued their armed intervention against the Soviet state. The Soviet people withstood this test of fire, drove off the interventionists and broke the back of domestic forces of rebellion. The international prestige of the Soviet Union steadily rose. In the mid-1930's, with the situation in Asia becoming tense when the Japanese militarists committed aggression against China and Hitler's fascism coming into existence Europe, the

Soviet Union did everything necessary to stop the aggressors. It actively assisted China, Spain and many other countries—victims of armed intervention by imperialism. It set forth a broad peace program, on the basis of which it proposed the establishment of an effective system of collective security in Europe and the signing of the Pacific Treaty. The Soviet Union signed separate mutual assistance treaties with capitalist countries aimed at coordinating in the fight against the peril of Hitler's fascism. The Soviet Union played the decisive role in the victories over German fascism and Japanese militarism, thereby setting off a wave of struggle to change the socio-political face of the entire world and strengthen the position of the forces of peace, the forces of progress and democracy throughout the world.

In the late 1940's, the imperialists, the instigators of the two world wars that had taken the lives of tens of millions of persons, developed plans to launch a third world war in a vain attempt to destroy the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement. Within this context, the Soviet Union made tireless efforts to achieve strategic balance and combat the threat of war by means of the entire force of the socialist system and the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state. As a result, a world war did not break out at a time when the Soviet Union had not healed the wounds of the last war and the world revolutionary and peace movements were still weak.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the Soviet Union continued its tireless struggle for peace and international cooperation, against the schemes of the imperialists to crush the sovereignty of nations and for disarmament and an end to the arms race. This struggle produced significant results. In 1963, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Space and Under Water was signed. In 1968, at its initiative, the Soviet Union signed the Nuclear Weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty. In the early 1970's, continuing the pursuit of its line on staunchly defending peace, the Soviet Union set forth a series of measures related to each field of the struggle of nations for peace, freedom and independence. These measures were embodied in the peace program adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU (1971). The program contained specific and realistic suggestions for resolving problems in need of solution along the path to strengthening peace and developing peaceful cooperation among nations. The program to continue the struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of nations that was adopted at the 25th Congress of the CPSU represented the continuation and development of the peace program. The main foreign policy tasks set by the 25th Congress were to end the arms race, achieve true disarmament, confirm the principles of not using force in international relations and focus the efforts of peace-loving nations in order to eliminate the hotbeds of war and tension in the various regions of the world.

In the early 1980's, the Soviet party and state continued to implement its peace strategy within the context of an

increasingly tense international situation caused by bellicose actions by the imperialist powers headed by the U.S. imperialists. Under these circumstances, the Soviet Union continued to make tireless efforts and used all its political and moral potentials to prevent the outbreak of war and maintain peace on earth.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU adopted the peace program for the 1980's, which charted the course for reducing the threat of war, promoting the relaxation of tensions and developing cooperation among nations with different social systems. The essence of this program was clearly reflected in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the congress: "Safeguarding peace is the most important task in the foreign policy of our party, our people and all nations on earth."

The peace program for the 1980's together with the new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union constitute a series of constructive measures encompassing both nuclear weapons and conventional weapons, measures related to the situations in the Mid-East, the Near East and the Far East. These measures are both political and military. All these measures have the single goal of saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war. On 15 January 1986, Gorbachev presented a 3-stage program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century. This program provides a specific response to each disarmament question now under discussion in the negotiations in Geneva, Vienna, Stockholm and New York (the United Nations). The implementation of this plan will not harm the security of anyone, rather, it will make it possible to maintain strategic military balance at the lowest level and guarantee strategic stability.

At the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the peace theme once again rang out like a bell awakening those who are insanely pursuing the arms race and putting nuclear weapons into space. The view concerning a comprehensive international security system was presented in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the congress. The basis of this international security system can begin to be laid by the leaders of the countries of the world community, most importantly the leaders of the five nuclear superpowers, regularly sitting down together at a round table to discuss the strengthening of peace. This view and the 15 January 1986 program on the elimination of nuclear weapons are the greatest achievements of the socialist foreign policy. They can be called the "decree on peace" of the late 20th century. They satisfy the interests of all nations.

These proposals reflect a constructive attitude, a love of peace and the political thinking of the nuclear era. The Soviet Union is constantly struggling to bring mankind into the third millennia in a world without nuclear weapons, a world in which the principle of peaceful coexistence is the general standard in international relations.

The CPSU, the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the CPSU have advanced and have been conducting their peaceful foreign policy on the basis of analyzing the world situation from the Marxist-Leninist view, on the basis of the balance of power in the world, on the basis of objective laws and the factors determining the trend of development of the world.

The Leninist peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU has the support of Soviet communists, the Soviet people and all progressive and peace loving forces throughout the world.

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The World Socialist System—A Product of the October Revolution

42100003g Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
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[Article by Hoang Nguyen]

[Text] The victory of the October Revolution separated Russia from the capitalist system and led to the birth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. The revolution of the Mongolian people, which broke out in 1921 and was brought to success with the assistance of the Soviet army, led to the establishment of the People's Republic of Mongolia in 1924. Thus, prior to World War II, socialism had only won victory in two countries and was on the defensive. How could it maintain its existence in the face of the imperialists?

With the defeat of fascism, a decisive contribution to which was made by the Soviet army, a host of people's democracies came into being in eastern Europe and Asia between 1945 and 1950. The world socialist system had formed. At that time, it consisted of 13 countries and 1 billion persons: the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Albania, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, China, Korea and Vietnam. In the world, the revolution had taken the offensive with the emergence of the three revolutionary currents. Socialism, the largest and strongest current, quickly crossed the borders of Asia and Europe and converged with the national liberation current: a number of countries, after being freed from the yoke of colonialism, either old style or new, chose the socialist path or leaned toward socialism. They included Cuba which, in 1959, brandishing the banner of socialism in the Western hemisphere, dealt the first mortal blow to the neo-colonialism imposed by the United States in the Americas in the 19th century. They also included a host of countries in the Near and Mid-East, in Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America: the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Laos, Cambodia and Nicaragua, not including a number of other countries that lean toward socialism to some degree, such as the Congo, Benin...

The socialist system now consists of approximately 20 countries (Richard Nixon, in his book "The Real War," counted 21 socialist countries). Thus, the history of the world over the past 40 years has been the history of the continuous expansion of the socialist system.

Numerous schemes of the imperialists to encircle, crush or separate individual countries of the socialist system have been defeated. There were the Truman and Eisenhower doctrines of "containment" and "pushing back" socialism in eastern Europe and "liberating the captive nations." There were Kennedy's schemes to bring about peaceful change and the unrest fomented in the GDR in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and, most recently, in Poland in 1980. There were the establishment of military blocs to encircle the socialist system in Europe and Asia: NATO and SEATO. There have been organized embargoes. Moreover, there have been military intervention and aggression against Cuba, Korea, Vietnam and, currently, against Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan.

When discussing the socialist system, mention must be made of its nucleus, the socialist economic community. The socialist economic community is the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), which was born in January 1949 and currently consists of 10 countries: the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia (which have been members of CEMA since its founding), the GDR (which joined in 1950), Mongolia (which joined in 1962), Cuba (which joined in 1972) and Vietnam (which joined in 1978).

The establishment of CEMA in 1949 met the need to further accelerate the mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries. Prior to then, numerous bilateral treaties and agreements on cooperation had been signed between these countries. The Soviet Union provided the countries of Eastern Europe with large assistance to save the peoples of these countries from starvation by sending them 572,000 tons of wheat flour and 60,000 tons of meat and many other food products and assistance to restore their economies by supplying necessary machinery, equipment, raw materials and fuels. By 1949, their economies having been restored, the need to industrialize arose in practically all Eastern European countries. On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists, after putting the Marshall Plan into effect in 1947, tightened its embargo and encirclement of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. As a result, stronger unity and cooperation among the European socialist countries became even more necessary.

In its nearly 40 years of activity, CEMA has achieved results very deserving of pride:

- The gaps in economic development among its European member countries have been reduced by a very large amount. When CEMA was first established,

Bulgaria and Rumania were among the least developed countries in Europe: in 1950, Bulgaria's national income per capita was three times less than Czechoslovakia's and 2.2 times less than the GDR's. Today, however, this difference has declined to nearly 1.1-1.2 times. Today, Bulgaria and Rumania can be ranked among the developed industrial countries.

- The member countries outside Europe, which are among the developing countries, are catching up to the European member countries. At present, the per capita national income of Cuba is only 1.5 times less and the per capita income of Mongolia is 2 times less than that of the European CEMA member countries or at the level achieved by the European member countries in the 1960's (Vietnam's is 10 times less).
- The superiority of the socialist system has been proven: between 1950 and 1980, the national income of CEMA increased 9.4 times while that of the European Common Market increased only 3.5 times. During the period from 1971 to 1985, the national income of the CEMA member countries doubled and their industrial output increased 2.2 times, that is, 1.5 times greater than the rate of growth of the developed capitalist countries. The CEMA member countries currently lead the world in the production of fuel, steel, chemical fertilizers and many other products. The Soviet Union has, with one-fourth of the total number of scientists in the world, the world's leading scientific-technical corps. CEMA accounts for one-third of the world's industrial production and one-fourth of the world's national income.

In addition, it must be stated that, in the case of the European CEMA member countries, cooperation in national defense became a need in order to guarantee economic development, particularly within the framework of the cold war that followed World War II: the United States established NATO in April 1949 and armed West Germany following the signing of the Bonn (1952) and Paris (1954) treaties with the aim of bringing West Germany into NATO. In the face of this situation, the Soviet Union and the eastern European socialist countries established the Warsaw Pact (May 1955), the nature of which is totally defensive. The countries of the Warsaw Pact have always displayed goodwill in the interests of peace and declared their readiness to disband if NATO does the same. Recently, these countries, together with the Soviet Union, have advanced very many initiatives on reducing arms, beginning with nuclear weapons. The CEMA member countries outside Europe are outside the Warsaw Pact and observe the standards of non-aligned countries.

The CEMA member countries have actively assisted the non-aligned countries and the countries of the Third World, in general, supporting them in their struggle for a new world economic order. Very many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have received assistance from the countries of CEMA in building independent and

autonomous economies. The volume of foreign trade between the developing countries and the CEMA member countries increased ninefold during the period from 1980 to 1985. Many long-term commercial agreements have been signed. CEMA has helped the developing countries build 5,000 enterprises related to key industrial sectors in 100 countries. India, a typical example, is a country that has many economic relations with CEMA. The metal refineries built with the assistance of CEMA produce 40 percent of India's ferrous metals. The oil refineries built with CEMA's assistance produce 60 percent and refine 30 percent of India's oil output. Some 25,000 students from developing countries are being trained in CEMA member countries.

CEMA has gained increasing prestige in the world. Participating in the meetings of CEMA as observers, in addition to Yugoslavia, are countries that have oriented their development toward socialism, namely, Angola, Ethiopia, Laos, Afghanistan, the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen and Mozambique, and two capitalist countries, Finland and Mexico.

CEMA has established relations with the European Common Market. The first meetings between the two took place in July 1973. Today, there are relations between these two organizations and between their member countries.

In 1974, CEMA was granted observer status at the United Nations.

The world socialist system, the nucleus of which is the socialist economic community, has been playing an important role in international relations since World War II. Prior to World War II, there was only the Soviet Union, which represented one-sixth of the earth's surface and 8 percent of its population. Today, the socialist system represents one-fourth of the world's surface and one-third of its population. The Soviet Union achieved strategic military balance with the United States in the early 1970's. The world entered a stage of relaxed tensions, the high point of which was the Helsinki Agreement signed in 1975 by 35 countries, which included European socialist countries and capitalist countries of Europe and North America.

Whereas there were only 21 years of peace between World War I and World War II, 42 years have passed since 1945 and world peace has been maintained. Today, due to the growth of the three revolutionary currents and the peace movement on all five continents, most importantly to the growth of the socialist system, mankind is fully capable of avoiding a new world war. As regards local wars started by imperialists, such as the Korean war, the Vietnam war and the Algerian war, some researchers put the number at 150 large and small wars between 1945 and the late 1960's. In the post-Vietnam era, however, this figure has declined very sharply. The imperialists have only dared to conduct "low intensity wars" or blitzkrieg attacks like the attack on Libya.

Of course, besides its fine development and large achievements, the socialist system has also encountered difficulties and problems that need to be resolved. In the late 1970's and early 1980's, many phenomena contrary to the character of socialism emerged within the socialist countries, especially within the CEMA member countries. They were a decline in the rate of economic development and the rapid growth of negative phenomena in society, such as bureaucracy, special rights and privileges... In 1984, an unfavorable turn of events occurred: the national income of CEMA increased by only 3.7 percent while the national income of the West rose by 4.5 percent. In the 1960's, the CEMA member countries embarked on a campaign to develop their economies in depth by combining the achievements of science and technology with the strengths of socialism. But this reform campaign did not make much headway due to the lack of thorough theoretical views on socialist construction and also because conservatism and bureaucracy had not been overcome.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of the fraternal parties that followed it charted the course of a comprehensive restructuring campaign for each country. This is a full-scale restructuring campaign, one which closely ties economic matters to the issues of democracy, organization, ideology and cadres.

Within the scope of the cooperation and integration within CEMA, this was the starting point in the adoption of the "combined program in scientific-technical advances up until the year 2000." On the other hand, CEMA has also vigorously restructured its organization and mode of operation.

Recently, an event occurred that marked a new step in the development of CEMA—the meeting of the general secretaries and first secretaries of the member countries held in Moscow on 10 and 11 November 1986. Those attending this meeting unanimously agreed on the need to revamp and perfect the structure, mechanism and form of cooperation among the countries of CEMA to be consistent with the new stage of development, to make them more dynamic and effective with the aims of accelerating the advance of each country and serving the cause of peace and security in the world.

The comprehensive changes taking place in the Soviet Union and a host of other socialist countries—the restructuring of domestic and economic policies, the political changes and the adoption of new thinking in foreign policy together with the strengthening of the unity within the world socialist system, the strengthening of integration within CEMA and the achievement of equality in conjunction with a spirit of common responsibility in the cooperative relations among countries—all these things will increase the strength of socialism. The socialist system, a product of the October Revolution, is exerting an increasingly strong impact upon the development and the future of mankind, is steadily bringing about basic changes in the comparison of forces in the

international arena, changes in the favor of those nations that are struggling for social progress, democracy, national independence and peace.

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The October Revolution and the International Communist and Worker Movements

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[Article by Do Nguyen Phuong]

[Text] The October Revolution was the first complete victory of the working class, most importantly the Russian working class. It raised the working class to the position of being the central force of our times. It was the fullest and most profound expression of the worldwide historic mission of the working class. As Lenin stressed, the principles concerning the leadership role and the worldwide historic mission of the working class are the first and most important basic principles in the doctrine of Marx.

The resounding victory of the October Revolution instantly shook the entire world, bringing to an end the period of "stagnation" of the international worker movement that began with the defeat of the Paris Commune. It ushered in a new period and brought about a substantive turning point in the struggle of the working class against imperialism and capitalism.

In conjunction with the worker movement, there is the international communist movement, the nucleus of which is the communist and worker parties. The birth of proletarian parties was the inevitable outcome of combining scientific socialism with the worker movement within each country. The victorious October Revolution, which rapidly spread Marxism-Leninism to all regions of the world and caused it to take deep root within the surging revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia after 17 November 1917, led to the birth of a host of communist parties and brought about a decisive turning point in the proletarian revolutionary movements of these countries. Prior to the October Revolution, there was only one communist party in the world, the Russian Communist Party. One year after the October Revolution, there were 46 such parties in Asia, Europe and Latin America. (Footnote 1) (In 1918, there were 46 parties with 1.7 million members. In 1946, there were 78 parties with 20 million members. In 1985, there were 95 parties with more than 80 million members) The glorious struggles waged by these parties culminated in the decisive victory of socialism in numerous countries and made socialism a powerful world system, the system determining the entire course of the history of man.

There had to be a developed worker movement, an increasingly large, organized and high quality corps of workers in order for proletarian parties to be born, strengthened and developed. At the start of the 20th

century, there were only about 20 million workers. Today, there are 650 million. Of this number, 296 million are members of 432 national, regional or international trade union organizations.

The developments mentioned above prove that the October Revolution strongly stimulated the international communist and worker movements and developed these movements into a force with a powerful organization, a force that has brought about fundamental changes in the face of the world and drastic changes in the relationships between labor and capital, between progress and reaction.

The victory of the October Revolution and the seven decades of real socialism eloquently prove a principle of Marxism: the working class is the creator of material and spiritual values, is the force behind the advancement of science and technology, is the representative of the most progressive mode of production, is the dominant and decisive force in the social revolutions of the 20th century. In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the working class, the leader of society, has brought about revolutionary changes and built a totally new society, one unprecedented in history, a society of fairness in which people who were once slaves have become the masters. This has been the dream of man for millennia. The era of freedom has replaced the era of the inevitable. This is the first true and full liberation of man, liberation of society, is the greatest leap forward in development, is the most profound of revolutionary turning points. Even the most optimistic predictions, the boldest dreams of 70 years ago fall short of what the working class of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has achieved in the fields of the economy, technology, science, culture and society.

The major characteristic of the working class in the socialist countries is that it is the class in power, is the leading class. Here, through the ruling party and state, the working class manifests, as fully as possible, its vanguard-revolutionary nature, its sense of organization, its collectivism and the concept of being the masters. At the same time, it is the most worthy representative of the interests of all the people and all nationalities. This reflects the important arguments made by Marx in the "Communist Manifesto" that the struggle of the working class must, above everything else, "be in the form of a national struggle" and that the working class must "become the nation." The working class must first win victory in its own country, in its own nation and build the new society in its own country first. This is the principle base upon which the working class can develop its role as the moving force behind the revolution, as the dominant class in society and display its vanguard and thoroughly revolutionary nature, its progressive political, ideological and organizational character. It is the first step in practicing proletarian internationalism and implementing the basic thinking of Marxism-Leninism, namely, that countries and nations will grow closer together once they have embarked on the path to socialism.

When discussing the international communist and worker movements, we are mainly talking about the historic class struggle that has been under way for hundreds of years in the capitalist countries, primarily the developed industrial countries. The working class in the developed capitalist countries has written glorious pages in its history, has won many important political, economic and social rights from the ruling class. One of the largest victories following the October Revolution was the achievement by the working class, through the strength of its struggle, of an 8-hour work day and social welfare guarantees it never had before.

The current struggle of the worker movement is aimed not only at the immediate goals of guaranteeing jobs and a decent standard of living and improving material conditions, but also at broader goals and increasingly high socio-economic demands. The struggle of the working class is colliding with the antagonistic contradictions in capitalist society: the contradictions between the class goals of the working class and the class interests of the bourgeoisie, which are a type of contradictions that cannot be successfully resolved under capitalism.

The distinguishing and most important characteristic of the struggle of the working class against the monopolistic bourgeoisie in the post-war period, particularly in recent decades, is the fact that this struggle is aimed directly at the political line of the capitalist countries. This political struggle has assumed two distinct forms. On the one hand, working people have taken to the streets in struggles against the nuclear war policy, against the policy on militarizing the economy and creating tension in order to maintain peace and security in the world. This movement has become a continuous, worldwide movement in which the working class and the various strata of laborers are the most important forces. On the other hand, the working class and the other strata of laborers in many countries have united in struggle against reactionary, fascist regimes demanding democratic reforms and fundamental changes to the structure of the socio-economic system. The struggles of this type have become increasingly numerous and have resulted in partial victories at certain times and places. In some countries, ultra-right governments have been replaced by progressive governments.

The political struggles to change the capitalist system are proof of the rising consciousness of the proletariat. They are coming to realize that capitalism cannot resolve any important social problems. This system is frustrated and at a dead end. These facts directly refute the argument of the bourgeoisie that the working class has lost its identity as a revolutionary class, has been "integrated" in capitalist society, no longer has the will to struggle...

The strong development of science and technology is changing the structure of production and, therefore, changing the make-up of the working class and the forms of its struggle. Traditional industrial sectors, such as metal refining, mining and manufacturing, and labor

intensive sectors are steadily shrinking, giving way to modern sectors, such as the electronics industry, the computer industry, the robotics sector, the space industry and so forth. The service sectors are also developing very rapidly. As a result, besides the steady decline in the number of traditional industrial workers, the number of workers and laborers in modern industries is steadily increasing. These persons generally possess a high degree of technical knowledge, work mainly with their minds and are called "technical intellectuals." Intellectual circles are developing at a rapid rate and have become a significant force within capitalist society. In France, there are currently more than 3.5 million intellectuals. They account for 70 percent of the labor force in the atomic power industry, 60 percent in the petroleum industry and 50 percent in electronics industry.

In conjunction with the process of industrializing and capitalizing the production of spiritual products and services (medical clinics and hospitals becoming true capitalist enterprises, the proliferation of law corporations...), intellectual circles are directly supporting capitalism more with each passing day and have become the prerequisite to the activity of capital. A small element of intellectual circles holds key positions within the state management apparatus and monopolistic corporations. They manage huge amounts of capital but this capital does not belong to them. They serve the ruling class. It is not scientists who determine the direction to be taken in scientific research, but the owners of corporations, the disciples of the law of profit. Mental labor, having become a direct production force, is being used by capitalists to reap increasing surplus value. The SDI program of the Reagan administration is opposed by thousands of American scientists but continues to be carried out because of the desire of the military-industrial complex to earn the largest possible profits under this program.

Thus, the scientific-technological revolution has increased the number and the social role of intellectuals but has not removed them from the position of working for hire. Moreover, the process of impoverishment is putting more and more intellectual elements on the fringe of society. Tens of thousands of engineers, doctors and educators in the developed capitalist countries are unable to find work.

In this situation, the working class faces the task of uniting with intellectual circles, particularly progressive intellectuals, in order to develop and tap their revolutionary spirit and stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the struggle against exploitation and domination, the struggle to fulfill the historic mission of replacing capitalism with a fair social system.

In the newly liberated countries that have taken the capitalist path, the working class has steadily grown together with the emergence of industrial sectors. Here, the country has been freed from the yoke of direct domination by colonialism and the position of the

laborer and the working class has fundamentally changed. However, production relations are still capitalist in nature. The laboring masses are oppressed and exploited by the ruling class, particularly under military dictatorships, and have their labor exploited by multinational corporations in sophisticated and ruthless ways.

The struggle of the working class is sharp in the developing capitalist countries. This struggle is a part of the international worker movement. It has the sympathy and support of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the socialist countries.

The working class in the developing countries shares the goals of struggling to maintain economic and political independence, achieve social progress and safeguard peace while struggling against the arms race. They are the most progressive class in society. They have natural ties to the peasantry—the largest labor force and the primary source of new workers for the working class of these countries.

Due to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the developing countries are being split into groups with different economic and political levels of development. Some of these countries have achieved a rather high rate of industrialization and are approaching the level of a developed industrial country. In some of these countries, the administration is rightist, dictatorial or a lackey of the United States. Here, the worker movement and the movement of the laboring masses are strong.

In the majority of the developing countries, particularly in Africa, the working class and the laboring people are controlled by tribalism, paternalism and religion. Therefore, ideological trends such as "African socialism" and "Islamic socialism" have emerged in these regions. Many worker organizations are monopolized by different religions. Recently, the Social International has intensified its activities in the developing countries. It has drawn the ruling circles of some countries into relations with trade union organizations led by aristocratic workers. In many developing countries, aristocratic workers have emerged with the infiltration of neo-colonialism.

Unity and consensus are one of the long-standing problems in the international worker movement. The progress of the revolution since October has basically been consistent and forward. However, it has not been without contradictions and disagreements. The contradictions and disagreements are a dialectical reflection of the struggle between two paths: the path of Marxism-Leninism and the path of modern revisionism. This situation also reflects the bitter struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" on a worldwide scale. Genuine communists recognize that revisionism and opportunism, in theory as well as in practice, are reflections of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and paralyze the will of the working class, of the laboring masses in the struggle for the cause of revolution. Together with

waging a determined struggle against revisionism and rightist opportunism, it is also necessary to struggle against dogmatism and factionalism because they rob parties of the ability to display the revolutionary and scientific character of Marxism-Leninism, isolate communists from the masses and lead to procrastination or "leftist" and reckless activities in revolutionary struggle.

Opportunism and modern revisionism are advancing arguments about different kinds of "socialism," such as "European communism," "nationalist socialism," "democratic socialism," "liberal socialism," "humanist socialism," "market socialism," etc. These are not wholesome trends aimed at seeking the truth, but conscious distortions of the truth that strip away the revolutionary character of Marxism-Leninism, disarm the proletariat of its spiritual weapon in the face of class enemies and undermine the unity and consensus of the international communist and worker movements.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists resolutely struggle for unity in the international communist and worker movements in a variety of ways. In particular, they struggle for dialectical unity between common factors that are tantamount to laws of socialist construction and their application under the peculiar circumstances of each nation. The October Revolution provided us with a valuable experience: it is impossible to advance to socialism and avoid the universal laws of Marxism-Leninism that have been confirmed by the realities of revolutions. At the same time, it is impossible to bring socialism to victory without taking into consideration the different characteristics which Lenin called "national peculiarities."

With the great victory of the October Revolution together with the experiences gained in struggle before toppling the old regime and in the 70 years spent blazing the path to the new society, the CPSU, the party of the great Lenin, took the lead in each field and achieved an incomparable level of development, thus proving itself worthy of being a new style party of the working class, being the best representative of the international communist and worker movements. At present, the CPSU is taking the lead in a revolutionary restructuring campaign that is increasing the strength and prestige of socialism in the Soviet Union and the world. The restructuring campaign in the Soviet Union is exerting a positive influence upon efforts to strengthen the ideological unity and political solidarity of the communist and worker movements and increasing the influence and strength of these movements in the international arena, thereby opening new prospects for the world revolution.

All these things are eloquent proof of the leading position and the ability to rally and unite of the CPSU in the international communist and worker movements. The objective realities described above are turning into reality the prediction made by Karl Marx and Friedrich

Engels over a century ago: "Russia will be in the vanguard of the European revolutionary movement." (Footnote 2) (K. Marx-F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 507)

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The October Revolution and the Liberation Struggle of Nations

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[Article by Pham Xuan]

[Text] The great historical significance of the October Revolution lies in the fact that it differed from every preceding revolution. The October Revolution abolished every form of class oppression and national oppression. It has been the most important factor in the awakening of nations. And, this is the secret of the enormous influence that the October Revolution has had upon enslaved and dependent nations.

The October Revolution shattered an important link in the imperialist system. It exacerbated the inherent contradictions of imperialism. It weakened this system and caused it to become deeply mired in a general crisis from which it cannot be saved. The October Revolution has also been one of the most important factors creating a favorable position for nations to arise and win their independence and freedom.

Due to the victory of the October Revolution, the theory on combining the three revolutionary currents: the Soviet Union, the trustworthy fellow traveler and the tremendous source of inspiration of the working class and oppressed peoples, the worker movement, which developed like a storm in Europe, and the national liberation struggle, which surged in Asia. The combining of these three currents ushered in a new period in the history of mankind. As a result of combining the three, the national liberation movement no longer stood outside history but became an integral part of the world revolutionary process. Nations were awakened and began to actively struggle for their own liberation as the persons who directly determine their destiny. In the relationship among the three forces mentioned above, the combination of real socialism, the Soviet Union, with the struggle of other nations has been a factor of especially important significance. When presenting his argument concerning the role of the first socialist state as the pillar of the national liberation movement, Lenin pointed out: "Today, it is obvious that this revolution of the peoples in the East can only develop victoriously, can only achieve success by being directly tied to the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet republic against international imperialism." (Footnote 1) (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 360) Lenin stressed the close and objective relationship between the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution, saying that the former is

the natural ally of the latter. This is of universal significance and is tantamount to a law. Lenin worked hard to establish and strengthen this relationship. He resolutely struggled against nationalist views within the Second International and asserted that without total and extremely close solidarity in the struggle between the workers of Europe and the United States and the hundreds of millions of slaves in the colonies being oppressed by the capitalists, the movement in the advanced countries would, in practical terms, be nothing more than a "deception."

From the very first days of its existence, young Soviet Russia fully concerned itself with the fate of the oppressed peoples. The first foreign policy document of the Soviet Union, the Decree on Peace, proclaimed the principle of the self-determination of nations to be the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. The decree resolutely denounced the colonial system of colonialism and asserted that it is a basic national right of all oppressed peoples to struggle to liberate themselves, to win independence and freedom. Later, these became the most important legal principles in international relations.

Soviet Russia not only raised its voice in recognition of the right of self-determination and the freedom to develop of all nations and canceled treaties that bound the nations of the East to the government of imperial Russia, but also established new relations of complete equality with these nations. The Soviet government recognized the independence of the Ukraine and Finland (1917) when the administrations of these countries were controlled by landowners and bourgeoisie. The Soviet government was the first to recognize the independence of Afghanistan (1919), Turkey (1920) and Mongolia (1921). It signed with these countries, and subsequently with Iran and China, treaties of equality establishing friendly relations with these countries.

Viewed against the historical background of that day, when the entire world was still trapped behind the dark curtain of enslavement by imperialism, the above mentioned policies of the Soviet state were a strong blow to the unjust international order and the cruel policy of domination of the colonial imperialists and were actions that strongly stimulated the awakening of nations.

Such were the main features of the impact of the October Revolution upon the national liberation movement during the period from the October Revolution to World War II. During that period, the Soviet Union, and later the People's Republic of Mongolia, were the only socialist countries in the world. During that period, Lenin accomplished something unprecedented in history: he united related nations in a union on the basis of voluntary association and equality. On 30 December 1922, the first All-Union Congress of Soviets ratified the "Declaration on the Establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." At that time, everyone saw the need to unite. But some persons called for the national

republics to join the Russian Union and wanted to consider the government of the Russian Union the common government of the entire Soviet Union. Lenin did not support this view. He advanced the principle that the republics, including the Russian Union, voluntarily join a new alliance: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The establishment of a union based on Lenin's principle was the greatest social achievement in the history of mankind. It created favorable conditions of a decisive nature for the peoples of Central Asia to truly be liberated, overcome their backwardness and eventually catch up to the advanced countries.

The achievements and experiences in resolving the issue of self-determination as well as uniting nations are of enormous theoretical and practical significance. They have charted the course of and strongly inspired the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle for national independence. These are truly large contributions made by the October Revolution and the correct nationalities policy proposed and creatively implemented by Lenin.

Following the defeat of fascism, the prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries reached a new height. Socialism became a world system. The national liberation movement developed strongly and entered a new stage in its history. Lenin once pointed out that if socialism were to win victory in a number of countries and the dictatorship of the proletariat were to be expanded from the scope of one country and become international in scale, a force strong enough to determine the course of development of world history could be created. This period began when World War II concluded. By means of its brilliant victory over fascism and its peaceful and revolutionary foreign policy, the Soviet Union made the most important contributions to weakening imperialism, the most dangerous enemy of national independence, thereby creating very favorable objective conditions for and strongly inspiring the oppressed nations to bravely struggle for freedom. In the mid-1950's, when world socialism began to exert a decisive influence upon the entire system of international relations, whole portions of the system of colonialism collapsed and one oppressed nation after another arose in struggle to liberate itself. The most prominent of these struggles were the wars of resistance of the Vietnamese and the Algerians against the French colonialists, the Cuban revolution, the Egyptian revolution...

The characteristics of this period were: with large assistance from the Soviet Union and world socialism, the nations in the vanguard of the struggle to liberate themselves not only gradually weakened imperialism, but also set a large and living example, one that had a direct impact upon other nations. This is why the national liberation movement became a widespread movement.

The Soviet Union gave its full support to the just cause of other nations. At the 16th session of the UN General Assembly (1961), the Soviet Union proposed that 1962 be declared the year of the total elimination of colonialism and demanded an end to wars of aggression, the dismantling of military bases overseas... During this period, various nations won large and continuous victories in their brave struggle. By the start of the 1960, a host of countries had won their independence to one degree or another and hundreds of nations, once colonies or semi-colonies, had entered the international arena as independent and sovereign nations. In 1913, countries that were colonies or semi-colonies covered 72 percent of the earth's surface and accounted for nearly 70 percent of the world's population. Today, these figures are 0.7 percent and 0.3 percent respectively. This was a victory that marked a turning point in the national liberation movement, was the phenomenon second in importance to the formation of the world socialist system. It caused imperialism to become deeply mired in a crisis from which there is no escape. It has ushered in a new stage in the history of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The period since the 1970's has been characterized by many countries choosing to develop in the direction of socialism after winning their national independence. More and more nations have abandoned the capitalist path. This is an inevitable product of the age, an age in which real socialism has been exerting an increasingly large influence and impact upon the entire world situation, particularly upon the national liberation movement, thus giving the once enslaved nations the ability to determine their history on their own, abandon the capitalist path and build a fair society without exploitation for the sake of the interests of the working people.

Generally speaking, those nations that have chosen the socialist path have experienced a process of gradual change. Under the leadership of revolutionary democratic forces or progressive, petty bourgeois, revolution activists, these countries have made the transition from a national democratic revolution to recognizing the principles of socialism. In this process, leadership forces have also made a gradual transition from a front to a people's party, essentially a party of the working class and laboring people. These parties have been leading the people in democratic reforms that are socialist in spirit. From an economic standpoint, they have thrown off the yoke of domination by foreign capitalists, abolished pre-capitalist economic relations, carried out land reform and agricultural cooperativization, developed the state-operated economy and begun building the material and technical bases of the new society. Politically, they have united each progressive force, pushed back and neutralized reactionary powers and implemented the right of ownership of the working people. In the social field, they have introduced policies to improve the material and spiritual lives of the people and correctly resolved problems in the relationships among tribes and races. In the field of culture, they have wiped out

illiteracy and are teaching scientific socialism. In international relations, they have united with the socialist countries and support the nations struggling for social progress against the imperialist and international reactionaries.

In those countries that have charted a course toward socialism, the process of laying the foundation of the new society is only in its initial stage and will not be completed for many years. Many difficulties still lie ahead on the path of their development. However, the fact that more and more nations are advancing toward socialism is eloquent proof that advancing from national liberation to social emancipation is the only path to true independence and freedom. In fact, "the liberation revolutions that began with the great October Revolution are determining the face of the 20th century. Regardless of how great the achievements of science and technology might be, of how strong the influence of scientific and technical advances upon social life might be, only the social and spiritual emancipation of man can make man truly free." (Footnote 2) (M.S. Gorbachev: "Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress of the CPSU," Supplement to THE SOVIET UNION TODAY Newsletter, No 3, 1986 p 2)

In the newly liberated countries that have chosen the capitalist path, the imperialists continue to look for every way to maintain their rule so that they can "leave" but still stay. They have installed "pro-West" indigenous administrations. They have exerted political, military and economic pressure, even conducted brazen acts of aggression, in order to maintain their sphere of influence and protect the interests of neo-colonialism in a vain attempt to prolong the existence of and expand the capitalist system, which has been denounced by history.

As a result, today, the newly liberated countries must continue their struggle to defend and strengthen the independence and security of their country.

Due to the consequences of the many years of rule by old-style colonialists and the continuing exploitation by neo-colonialism, the developing countries, both those that have chosen the course of socialism and those following the capitalist path, are, generally speaking, still very backward and poor. In recent years, the imperialists have made widespread use of credit colonialism, thereby forcing many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to be dependent upon them through debt. The total debt of these countries in 1970 was 5 billion dollars. By 1986, it had risen to 1.35 trillion dollars. The gap between the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries is growing, not shrinking. In the early 1980's, per capita income in the developing countries was more than 11 times lower than in the developed capitalist countries.

Therefore, building an independent economy as the base for political independence is an urgent matter of survival to the developing countries. "Economic liberation is

primary in importance." (Footnote 3) (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 22, p 230) "Only by achieving thorough economic liberation and political liberation...can we eliminate every possibility for maintaining any form of national oppression." (Footnote 4) (Ibid., p 234)

In the struggle for economic independence, the Soviet Union is the loyal friend of all nations. The assistance provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, respecting sovereignty and not intervening in the internal affairs of countries.

The salient feature of this assistance provided by the Soviet Union is that it is aimed at building material production sectors, building key sectors of the economy and creating the conditions for the nationalist countries to build independent economies. At the same time, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries fully support the developing countries in their struggle to abolish the current international economic order, an unjust order that serves only the interests of the imperialists, with the aim of establishing a new and more just order that serves the interests of all countries better.

Of course, the national liberation movement still has many problems to solve, none of which is simple. The consequences of the colonial and semi-colonial past and the acts of sabotage of the imperialists are causing serious difficulties and problems to these countries as they move ahead to strengthen their political independence and restructure their economies and societies. However, in keeping with the trend of our times, the trend that began with the October Revolution, and with the tremendous assistance and support of the Soviet Union and world socialism, the national liberation movement has entered a new period in its history, one which cannot be reversed, and will surely make continuous progress down the path of achieving true independence and social progress.

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The October Revolution and the Development of Soviet Military Science

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[Article by Hoang Minh Thao]

[Text] With the victory of the October Revolution and for the first time in history, a new style army, an army of the proletariat, of the proletarian dictatorship state, was born. And, with it was born a new military science, the first military science of proletarians who had seized political power.

It was Lenin who played the decisive role in formulating the basic theories of Soviet military science. He was also the person who founded this science in the process of working with the CPSU to lead and organize the armed uprising and carry out the war to defend the gains of the October Revolution.

As we know, one of Lenin's great contributions to mankind was his argument that the victory of socialism need not be worldwide but could be won in only a number of countries, even in only one country. On the basis of this brilliant discovery, Lenin reached the conclusion: "Defending socialism as though it were the motherland" is an objective necessity, is the first and most important task of the victorious proletariat, of the proletarian dictatorship state. He pointed out that if, after the victory of the October Revolution, "we do not take up arms to defend the socialist republic, we cannot survive..." "The enslaved classes must prove, in practical terms, that they are not only capable of toppling the exploiters, but can also organize themselves and mobilize everything they need to defend themselves." (Footnote 1) (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, pp 165-166) Lenin's doctrine on defending the socialist motherland consisted of his arguments concerning the socialist motherland, the inevitability and the laws of a war to defend the socialist motherland, the attitude of the working class and laboring people toward national defense, etc. This doctrine lies at the heart of Soviet military thinking, is the theoretical foundation and the most important thinking of Soviet military science. Soviet military science was formed and established in the realities of the years of the civil war and the fight against the armed intervention by the imperialists.

One of the most important elements of Soviet military science is the theory on the new style army and the principles of building this army that were set forth by Lenin with the aim of building and training the Soviet Red Army of workers and peasants and the Soviet navy. Lenin was also the first person to discover the need to build a new style army of the proletariat once the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established. He asserted that, once it seized political power, the proletariat could not utilize the army of the old state. It had to crush this army and build a new style army, the character of which was working class and the duties, position and role of which were completely different from those of the army of the exploiting classes. The proletariat had to change the perception and attitude of the people concerning the army and build new relations between the army and the people.

The problems of defending the country, building and strengthening the rear area and reorganizing socio-economic activities within the context of a war and in accordance with the laws of armed struggle were very complex and new problems to the young Soviet republic. The CPSU and Lenin analyzed and very skillfully resolved these problems in a manner closely tied to the

line, strategy and tactics of the party. And, to lay the theoretical base for solving these problems, Lenin shed light on a host of Marxist arguments concerning the dependency of war upon the economy, politics and society; the role of the masses in war; the relationship between the frontlines and the rear area; and the role and impact of political, ideological, organizational and scientific-technical factors in armed struggle and a war to defend the socialist motherland. These arguments provided a solid theoretical foundation for the development of Soviet military science.

During the years of the civil war, Lenin and the CPSU resolutely struggled against the anti-scientific views of bourgeois military art. At the same time, they resolved many problems concerning strategy, campaign art and tactics. On this basis, they established and steadily improved the new military art of the proletariat following the winning of political power.

When the Soviet Union entered the stage of successfully completing the economic and political tasks of the period of transition to socialism, numerous complex problems arose, all of which stemmed from the threat of a new world war, from the steadily increasing schemes of fascism against the Soviet Union, against the first socialist state in the world. Soviet military science analyzed and resolved the problems associated with the war to defend the motherland against fascist aggression and the problems associated with the new world war launched by the German, Italian and Japanese fascists with the aims of crushing the Soviet Union and becoming rulers of the world. It clarified the nature and characteristics of the war that might break out and proposed ways to increase the fighting strength and raise the level of combat readiness of the armed forces to be compatible with the level of economic and technical development achieved by the country. The restructuring of the armed forces and the urgent implementation of plans designed to improve the defense capabilities of the country as part of the 5-year socio-economic development plan of the Soviet Union preceding World War II marked a new and creative level of development and reflected the strong impact of Soviet military science upon efforts to strengthen national defense and prepare the country to fight aggression.

The war was the sternest challenge to Soviet military science. During the early period of the war, this military science promptly discovered and proposed scores of measures aimed at making full and urgent use of all the country's potentials in the fight against enemy forces. At the same time, it developed methods of armed struggle and methods of organizing armed forces that were well suited to each battlefield, including occupied zones.

In the field of organizing armed struggle, Soviet military science successfully resolved such new problems as how to organize and conduct strategic defensive operations; how to organize an in-depth defense; how to seize

strategic initiative; how to tenaciously defend vital strategic targets on decisive strategic lines of defense; how to conduct a continuous strategic offensive on a broad scale by conducting a series of campaigns waged by an army or army groups; how to achieve smooth battlefield coordination on all strategic fronts; how to establish and utilize strategic reserve forces; how to organize the mapping of strategy; how to formulate strategic plans in armed struggle; and how to organize a solid national rear area. By winning victory over world fascism and saving mankind from genocide, Soviet military science displayed its superiority and strength. The Soviet people and army displayed extraordinary spirit and energy in their heroic fight. The Soviet Supreme Command and Soviet marshals displayed talent and skill in organization and command.

After the war, a new stage began in the development of Soviet military science. With the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, taking advantage of their monopoly on nuclear weapons and intensifying their use of war as a policy, Soviet military science had to immediately turn to new tasks and faced many very new demands, such as researching all aspects of nuclear war; researching new methods of conducting a war to defend the motherland within the context of nuclear arms; researching guidelines for building the armed forces under the new conditions; preparing the armed forces and the country to fight aggression within the context of nuclear war... It also researched and brought to light matters tantamount to laws related to the alliance in combat among the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and proposed numerous ways to use the advantages and potentials of Soviet society, of the world socialist community to break the U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons and achieve strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Today, in the face of the strong development of military science and technology and the intensification of the arms race by the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, Soviet military science, in keeping with the resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, is performing very difficult tasks with the aim of providing scientific bases for effective ways to maintain the military strength of the Soviet Union and the world socialist community. This strength is the shield needed to firmly protect the world socialist community, is an important base of support of the struggle of mankind to reduce and eventually eliminate the threat of nuclear war and achieve peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Modern Soviet military theory has analyzed the situation and predicted that if the imperialists launch a new world war, it will be a struggle for survival between the two world systems. The alliance of socialist countries, which are in agreement concerning political and military goals, together with the national liberation movement,

the worker movement in the capitalist countries and the world peace movement have become an enormous force preventing a new world war.

Soviet military science maintains that if a world nuclear war breaks out, the modes of combat activity on the strategic, campaign and tactical levels will be much different than in the last war. As a result of equipping with strategic nuclear weapons, particularly intercontinental missiles, all the territories as well as the economic systems, the administrative and political targets, the industrial centers, the strategic bases, the nuclear bases and so forth of the opposition can be attacked by strategic weapons and be quickly destroyed.

Strategic missile forces, strategic air forces with long-range, supersonic aircraft and nuclear submarines armed with long-range missiles are capable of coordinating to perform the primary missions of war.

A war can encompass, at the same time, the entire territory of the opposing country without any distinction between frontlines and rear area.

The use of nuclear weapons will increase the strength of Soviet armed forces very much and change the relationships among the various services and branches, even change the role and significance of each service and branch. The organization of the joint commands of modern services and branches must be a tighter and more sophisticated organization and be global in scale on land, at sea and in the air.

The use of nuclear weapons places higher requirements upon human beings—upon the cadres and soldiers who operate modern equipment and weapons. In nuclear war, the role played by humans not only remains decisive, but also entails higher and stricter demands regarding loyalty, the will to fight, bravery, physical and psychological fitness and the level of scientific and technical knowledge. The requirements of modern war demand that training produce cadres and soldiers who possess strong and unswerving political and moral qualities, possess a very strict sense of discipline and carry out orders thoroughly. At the same time, they must be trained to be highly educated specialists who are proficient and skilled in their technical specialty. Therefore, political work within the Soviet armed forces is being revamped from the standpoint of both substance and methods with a view toward insuring that cadres and soldiers meet the very high and strict requirements of war.

Respecting the common interests and the splendid aspirations of the people of the entire world, and in view of the Soviet Union's military strength, the CPSU and Gorbachev have advocated a policy of struggling for a stable peace and nuclear disarmament and have joined with the fraternal countries within the Warsaw Pact to proclaim that the military theory of the Warsaw Pact

member countries is "defensive," that this military theory is "defensive in nature." This is a progressive military theory, one consistent with human desires and the course of development of mankind.

The 70 years of the existence and continuous growth of the land of the Soviets confirm the enormous creativity of Soviet military science. On the basis of this body of scientific theory and knowledge, the CPSU has built an increasingly powerful military organization, an organization that possesses an enormous combined strength, the strength of the entire country and Soviet society, the strength of the world socialist community and the strength of our times. The Soviet Union has become the solid pillar of world revolution and peace and is exerting a strong impact upon the development of mankind in line with the progressive trend of history.

Soviet military science is a proletarian military science built and developed through the creativity of Marxism-Leninism. It has carried on and enhanced the fine military traditions of the people of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union and has incorporated the military scientific achievements of the world. It has clearly shown itself to be superior to bourgeois military science.

The law of the development of Soviet military science is: each matter related to the military is researched and resolved in a manner closely tied to the line, strategy and tactics of the party, to the realities of the revolution and war, resolved in a spirit of initiative and creativity and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet military science and the military sciences of the other socialist countries form a common theoretical and moral base for strengthening the cooperation and the alliance in combat within the world socialist community, thereby insuring that the socialist countries can combine the strength of each country with the strength of the community and successfully resolve problems concerning the armed defense of the socialist motherland in each country and the entire world socialist community for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world.

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The Soviet Union: Trail Blazer and Path Finder
42100003k Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 56-58, 33

[Article by Ha Xuan Truong]

[Text] Each task that the revolution of every country must perform, each question that the revolution of every country must answer originates in the circumstances of this country's revolution. But the light needed to perform these tasks and answer these questions does not always emanate from the ground on which one is standing, particularly when the thinking of scientific socialism

has emerged and especially when real socialism has come into being. Socialism is not a national product but an international product. Socialism was born of capitalism and is a new and higher stage of development than capitalism. But, through capitalism, mankind became a world. Consequently, Marx and Engels stated that "the proletariat can only exist on the scale of world history, just as the existence of communism, that is, the activities of the proletariat, can only be an existence that is, 'by its nature, world history.'" (German Ideology) (Footnote 1) (Marx-Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 298) The light that illuminated the Vietnamese revolution emanated from the October Revolution, from Lenin. The opportunity that came in 1945 for the Vietnamese revolution to achieve success was created by the Soviet Red Army's defeat of fascism in Europe and militarism in Asia. The victory of the Vietnamese in their war against the French imperialists, a victory that liberated one-half the country, was due in large measure to the assistance received from the Soviet Union and China. One decisive factor in Vietnam's victory in the war against the United States for national salvation, a war filled with hardships and sacrifices, was the unswerving and wholehearted assistance received from the Soviet Union and the community of fraternal socialist countries. The wholehearted and unselfish assistance being provided by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries to us in our socialist construction is also very large. It has always been this way. Every "call for help" by Vietnam in times of difficulty has been immediately answered by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries at a time when they themselves, given their specific circumstances, are not without difficulties.

From our studies of the national liberation movement in the world and from our own experiences in revolutionary war and the early years of socialist construction, we have an even deeper understanding that, in today's age, it is difficult to achieve true national independence without closely tying the nation to the times, that it is difficult for a country to build socialism without the socialist community. The strength of a country lies within the strength of a community. This strength is the strength of a new quality of cooperation, of a noble friendship based on equality and mutual respect, a friendship that could only be achieved after the October Revolution, a spirit of cooperation that could only exist along with the growth in strength of the socialist system and the growing non-capitalist, progressive trend toward socialism.

Capitalism has not lost its ability to create things that are new. But capitalism cannot resolve the long-standing contradiction of a society divided into classes, the contradiction between exploiting and being exploited. Thus, it cannot achieve man's ideals of justice and democracy. The most important goals of socialism are to eliminate exploitation and achieve justice and democracy for each working person. Contradictions exist in both socialism and capitalism. But the two systems differ in the nature of these contradictions and the methods employed to

resolve them. The struggle among contradictions is the moving force behind development. Socialism does not conceal contradictions nor does it evade them. Rather, it brings contradictions to light, it analyzes and resolves them. Correctly applying Marxism-Leninism, the communist and worker parties of those countries that are building socialism are fully capable of leading the working class and people of their country in resolving social contradictions and opening the way for the new to emerge and develop. In my opinion, one of the causes of the prolonged stagnation in Vietnam is that after resolving the antagonistic contradiction between the Vietnamese and the U.S. imperialists, after virtually eliminating the exploiting classes, our party failed to fully recognize the laws of struggle among antagonisms and the unity between the opposing aspects of things in the process of building socialism. In particular, it failed to recognize the dialectic governing these moving forces and contradictions in the period of transition to socialism. The pressing need to adopt the new approach emerged in 1979 and 1980. But it was not until the Sixth Congress in December 1986 that this need became part of our guidelines and socio-economic policies, became part of the activities of the party and state. Although the specific circumstances of each party differ, the 27th Congress of the CPSU exerted a very large influence, providing a base of support and stimulating change within our country. This base of support broadened when calls for change came from the forums of many congresses of fraternal parties. Our party unanimously observed: "The world is changing rapidly. Socialism is struggling to display its superiority over capitalism in every field. To the fraternal socialist countries, change is the path to meeting the demands of our times..." (Footnote 2) ("The Political Report at the Sixth Congress," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 75)

The Soviet Union is the pillar of peace and socialism. Since its establishment and at the various turning points in history, the party of Lenin, drawing upon its deep experience, has always set a bright example in blazing the trail and being creative in both the theoretical and practical aspects of the international communist movement. The assessment that the 27th Congress of the CPSU was the most important event of the century behind the October Revolution and the war to defend the motherland, the war that brought fascism to an end, is an accurate assessment. Whereas the October Revolution blazed the trail from the standpoint of the theory and practice of Leninism after the birth of Marxism, the line on restructuring and changing all aspects of Soviet society is the blazing of a new, post-Lenin trail aimed at raising socialism to a new height. While the factors of change in socialism can emerge in one country or another within our community, thus helping to enrich the theory on the socialist revolution, history has given the Soviet Union, the home of the October Revolution, the role of trail blazer and path finder for the world revolution. Of course, those who oppose us, the enemies of socialism, are intentionally distorting the changes under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist

countries or are viewed by them as initial, indisputable achievements within the sphere of capitalism. They are even "concerned" for us, "concerned" about some sort of "internal opposition," "concerned" about "an unavoidable defeat," etc., etc. The disciples of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are not pleased when they see that the potentials and the superior aspects of the socialist system will be strongly developed and displayed through the profound and thorough changes now under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Deserving of attention is that the new thinking adopted in the international relations of the Soviet Union as expressed in the tireless struggle being waged by M. Gorbachev and the Soviet state for peace and the total elimination of nuclear weapons is winning the hearts and minds of millions of persons on earth. For this reason, anti-socialist powers have been increasingly resorting to all kinds of stratagems against the Soviet Union and, displaying even greater malice, have been pulling every cunning trick possible (including false accusation and fabrication) to divide the socialist community internally, to separate the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries from Vietnam.

Vietnam's communists and the intellectual circles and people of Vietnam understand that change is a process of bitter revolutionary struggle. However, they have complete confidence in the revolution of change and restructuring now being vigorously carried out in the Soviet Union. They also have complete confidence in the struggle of the Polish United Workers' Party to restore the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to carry out the restructuring campaign and adopt a new approach; in the "reorganization" struggle of the Cuban Communist Party to heighten communist awareness and revolutionary spirit; in the struggles by the communist parties of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to adopt and test new forms of management in all fields of the economy and society, and in the continuing struggle of the German Socialist Unity Party to perfect developed socialism. Although the policies and measures of each country differ, it is clear that the socialist countries are in a new trend, are solving the new problems of the new period of development of socialism together. Compared to the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries, Vietnam's level of development lags behind by an entire stage. But it is also clear that Vietnam and the fraternal countries share a common slogan—"change"—and are applying the same methods of thinking: dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

To the people of its country, the Communist Party of Vietnam acknowledges that "the things that have been accomplished and the things that have not prove that the leadership of the party has not been equal to the tasks of the new stage" (Footnote 3) (Ibid., p 75), that "change is the pressing requirement of the cause of revolution, is a matter of survival." (Footnote 4) (Ibid.) Therefore, our party considers researching, applying and developing

Marxism-Leninism to be the matter of foremost importance in its ideological and theoretical work. "For the creative development of Marxism," this is not simply the theme of a conference, but a guideline for cooperation on the ideological and theoretical front among the fraternal countries.

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Vietnam-Soviet Union: The October Revolution and the August Revolution

421000031 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
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[Article by Nguyen Khanh Toan]

[Text] The affection between Vietnam, a small nation but one with a 4,000 year history of bravely and steadfastly fighting for independence and freedom, and the great Russia, the symbol of the movement of the center of the world revolution from the West to the East, dates back to the start of the 20th century when imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, first began to decline. Russia was preparing to enter the arena of history as the vanguard unit of the world revolution under the leadership of Lenin, the man who brilliantly carried on and developed the great cause of Marx and Engels. Vietnam, the only Asian nation to erect solid dikes in ancient, medieval and modern times to defend its independence and sovereignty and those of the nations of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean against the northern aggressor and expansionist forces of the Tang, Han, Zhou, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties, was brutally subjected in the late 19th century to the unfortunate fate of being enslaved by the French colonialists. But when the country is in crisis, a nation that has displayed courage since ancient times never yields. Rather, its spirit rises even higher, its fighting strength becomes even more resilient. When misfortune befalls it, such a nation gives birth to worthy sons and daughters.

A soul as pure as crystal, one overflowing with love for the common people and foresight that went beyond the bounds of space and time—these two virtues coalesced within and brought the young revolutionary Nguyen Ai Quoc to the pinnacle of his times. With his new vision, Nguyen Ai Quoc, in the face of the change in the world situation that was about to occur, charted the best path to be taken by the country to liberate itself and contribute to the cause of liberating those nations that shared the same fate.

On 7 November 1917, the October Socialist Revolution won glorious victory. Lenin's truth had triumphed.

A minor and seemingly unrelated event then occurred, an event which, although seemingly unrelated, bore the imprint of the hands of history: in 1919, with the October Revolution only a little more than 1 year old, with the revolution under siege and facing the threat of armed intervention by 14 capitalist countries, on a

warship of the French imperialists that had sailed into the Black Sea and dropped anchor outside the port of Odessa to suppress the newborn Soviet republic, a young mechanic named Ton Duc Thang proudly raised the Red flag up the mast to greet and express the boundless joy and enthusiasm of the Vietnamese people over having a friend who shared their feelings, a brother who shared their cause.

After the Russian October Revolution, especially after Vietnam's August Revolution, the Soviet Union and Vietnam, two countries and two peoples that are separated by tens of thousands of kilometers and also by historical, cultural and social differences, by different ways of life and different natural surroundings, developed an increasingly close affection and warm love for each other. This was not the result of the desires of any one individual, group or social stratum. It was arranged by history. Due to the evolution of man, close ties among nations, most importantly among nations that share the same ideals, became an urgent need of the times.

This solidarity and friendship were beautiful flowers that blossomed on the tree of proletarian internationalism. They were a noble expression of fraternity and equality devoid of all racism and ethnic prejudice between nations struggling under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

With the October Revolution—the result of the shift of the center of the revolution from the West to the East—the Russian Socialist Republic, the first socialist state in the world, was assigned by history the responsibility of being the vanguard unit of the world revolution, of which Lenin was the great father.

The glorious victory of the October Revolution was mainly due to the brilliant leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the unparalleled revolutionary heroism of the workers and peasants of Russia, the close unity among the nationalities of Russia and the other ethnic elements within the czarist empire—the Ukrainians, Belorussians, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, etc.

On the other hand, it must also be acknowledged that the solidarity of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world also actively contributed to the victory of the October Revolution. In the October Revolution, suffering mankind saw the light of freedom and greeted it with great enthusiasm.

On the battlefields, soldiers of all countries threw down their weapons, joined hands and embraced one another, laughing through their tears. In the rear, workers held meetings and demonstrations and staged strikes demanding an end to the war and supporting the Russian revolution and the Soviets. Strong movements among workers and laboring people demanding peace, freedom and jobs, opposing the intervention in the Russian revolution and supporting Soviet Russia broke out in

many countries of Europe, Asia, the Middle and Near East and Latin America. In some working class sections in the warring countries—the port city of Hamburg, Germany, and Budapest, Hungary—Soviet administrations were established. Beginning in 1918, under the leadership of more than 40 communist parties in the countries of the world, the revolutionary movement developed rapidly in Europe, Asia, the Near East and Latin America. Subsequently, however, the victorious allies, with aid from the United States, whose President Wilson was the person who actually directed the Versailles Peace Conference, and with assistance from the right wing elements of socialist and social-democratic parties in suppressing revolutionary movements in other countries, capitalism was brought into a period of “relative stability.” In the countries of the West, the revolution ebbed. The need then arose to reorganize the ranks of the communist parties in a way that avoided the confusion and disorder associated with their establishment.

The founding of the Communist International in 1919 under the direct leadership of Lenin was a very important event in combining the world revolutionary movement with the October Revolution. It trained and equipped the communist parties in every respect, most importantly from the standpoint of revolutionary strategy and tactics and the proletarian international spirit, in order to make them worthy of being the vanguard parties of the working class.

In Russia in 1919, amidst continued harassment by the interventionists and the counter-revolutionary White Russians, Lenin convened a conference of scientists and intellectuals, the majority of whom supported the revolution, and assigned them the responsibility of industrializing Russia, the main element of which was nationwide electrification. At that conference, Lenin defined “communism as Soviet power plus nationwide electrification.”

The people of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, worked and fought under the guideline: “there is not one fortress which the Bolsheviks cannot successfully assault.”

While the revolutionary movement entered a period of decline and capitalism entered a period of relative stability in Europe and the West, in general, in the East, especially in Asia, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist movement developed into a raging storm. The reasons were many:

First, the October Revolution had awakened the world, including the oppressed peoples. But because the October Revolution broke out in the midst of a war, because the information and press activities of that time were very thin and because the colonies were far away, the influence of the October Revolution reached the

oppressed peoples in Asia later. Although this influence arrived late, the misery, anger and hatred that had smoldered for years now had an opportunity to explode.

Secondly, taking advantage of the position created by their victory in the war—by taking the colonies of the defeated countries, forcing these countries to pay war damages and exploiting the colonies on a large scale—the monopolistic capitalists of the victorious Western countries became very strong following the war. But this strength was based on profound contradictions: between the victorious imperialist countries and the defeated imperialist countries; between the wealthy imperialists and the poor countries; between the imperialist countries and the colonies (this was the sharpest contradiction); and between ascending socialism and declining capitalism.

Within the space of 10 years, these contradictions had plunged capitalism into a deep, general crisis, which led to World War II with its terrible destructive power, the outcome of which was the collapse of a large portion of the imperialist system. Socialism spread from just one country and became a world system.

In the early 1920's, following the war, communism was brought to Vietnam and the colonial and semi-colonial countries in Asia, among which Vietnam, generally speaking, accepted it with sincerity, zeal and in its entirety. This is also easy to understand. The old fox Governor General Albert Sarraut, who became Minister of Colonies after the war, was the architect of an enormous program to “exploit Indochina on a large scale.” Under this program, French monopolistic capitalists, through the Indochina Bank, a branch of the Bank of France, shamelessly plundered the wealth of the richest colonial regions of the French colonialists and exploited Vietnamese workers and peasants to the bone.

It is, therefore, easy to appreciate just how deep the Vietnamese people's hatred of the French imperialists and their lackeys, the feudalists, was.

The anti-imperialist movement in Vietnam began in 1923-1924. But it was a spontaneous movement at first, lacking both leadership and a clear line. It was not until late 1924 and early 1925 that this movement became a ground swell that shook the entire country because, it was then that “French Colonialization on Trial” was published and disseminated throughout the country, awakening the entire nation.

At the same time, many events occurred that shook the ruling apparatus of the French colonialists.

They were so frightened that whenever anything occurred which was anti-French in tone, they immediately suspected “Bolshevik involvement” or “involvement by Moscow”! For example, when the aged patriot Phan Boi Chau, after living overseas in exile for nearly 20 years, was arrested by them in Shanghai and put on

trial in Hanoi, a colonialist paper published a picture of a hammer and sickle. In the foreground was a drawing of Phan, behind whom stood several heavily bearded officers of the Russian Red Army, with daggers in their mouths, pulling Phan's strings. In the corner was a drawing of Lenin, his eyebrows raised, smiling!

Despite all the cunning schemes and tricks of the French colonialists—terror, deception, bribery, demagoguery, sending over “socialist” governor generals, setting up consultative councils in Annam and Tonkin and granting the right to do business to native bourgeoisie—no force could impede communism when it proudly set foot on Vietnamese soil, especially when the banner of Marxism-Leninism was being brandished by Nguyen Ai Quoc, a revolutionary who, although still young, had the trust and respect of all the people. Even respected revolutionaries of preceding generations unanimously agreed that he was the most worthy leader of the nation of that day.

In 1925, Nguyen Ai Quoc founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, a forerunner of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The 1929-1933 world economic crisis broke out against the background of the acute general crisis of capitalism, whose period of relative stability had come to an end, thus making the world situation very tense.

The Communist Party of Vietnam was established on 3 February 1930. On 10 February 1930, the Nationalist Party, the party of Vietnam's bourgeoisie, led the Yen Bai uprising. When the uprising was crushed, this party perished.

The communist party immediately seized leadership of the revolutionary movement nationwide. Now led by a communist party, whose leader, Nguyen Ai Quoc, everyone knew, millions of workers, peasants, poor urban dwellers and students were awakened and joined the struggle for a decent standard of living, against unemployment, for higher wages, against salary cuts, against beatings, for lower taxes, for the distribution of land to poor peasants, for lower land rents, etc.

A brutal campaign of terror was then launched by the colonialists. They dropped bombs on demonstrations and sent aircraft to destroy villages in which the struggle of the masses was strong.

Despite the terror, the struggle of the masses steadily grew, especially in rural areas, where landowners and village bullies were either arrested and tried in courts set up by the people or fled. Their cropland was confiscated and distributed to peasants. Peasant associations became the administration in villages where the movement was strong. The first Soviets appeared in Vietnam in the Nghe Tinh region, in the districts of Thanh Chuong, Nam Dan and Nghi Loc.

In a report to the Indochina governor general, Noguet, the commander of the colonialist forces sent on a punitive expedition against Nghe Tinh, wrote:

“In the three districts of Nam Dan, Thanh Chuong and Nghi Loc in Nghe An Province, the masses have organized their lives in accordance with Soviet law. Wherever France has lost power, Russia governs.”

Despite bitter defeats, Pasquierre still swore to wipe out the scourge of communism in Vietnam.

The period from 1930 to 1932 was a challenge of major historical significance. After the glorious revolutionary movement of 1930-1932 was ruthlessly suppressed by the French colonialists, the Communist Party of Vietnam went completely underground for a few years but then very quickly regained its position as leader of Vietnam's revolution. Just one decade later, a remarkable development occurred: under the brilliant leadership of Nguyen Ai Quoc and with the wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union and the Communist International, the Indochinese Communist Party—a forerunner of the Communist Party of Vietnam—mobilized the forces of all the people, of all nationalities, strengthened Vietnam's solidarity with the two fraternal nations of Laos and Cambodia, forming one solid bloc, and actively participated in the just war of the Soviet Union and progressive mankind against the fascist bloc of Germany, Italy and Japan, thereby bringing the August Revolution, the first great revolution of a colonial nation, to glorious victory. This was followed by the brilliant victory over the French imperialists and the total victory over the U.S. imperialists, which marked the start of the collapse of old-style colonialism throughout the world and dealt a fatal blow to the neo-colonialism of the U.S. imperialists. Together with the two fraternal countries of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has become the solid outpost of communist and socialist countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

This is a worthy contribution to the cause of ushering in a new era in the history of mankind.

What were the reasons behind these victories? The Vietnamese are a nation who possess a long-standing tradition of heroism, who never yield in the face of aggressors. This was the first reason. The second reason was the times in which we live. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries possess extraordinary creative energy: any nation which avails itself of and knows how to creatively apply this energy can never be defeated.

When it was brutally terrorized by the enemy and suffered enormous losses, the CPV received even greater material assistance and moral support from the communist party and people of the Soviet Union and the fraternal parties. The respect, love and unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union for Vietnam are truly priceless.

Whenever the Soviet Union or Vietnam has encountered difficulties, the other has extended its hand in help. During the period from 1932 to 1935, when the enemy was conducting their campaign of ruthless terror, the Indochinese Communist Party was forced to go underground completely. The French colonialists and their lackeys proclaimed that the Indochinese Communist Party no longer existed. But, in August 1935, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International issued a resolution recognizing the Indochinese Communist Party as an official member of the Communist International and elected Le Hong Phong as an official member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. How great our pride was!

In 1941, when Hitler's fascists broke the treaty and suddenly attacks the Soviet Union, the Soviet Red Army was forced to temporarily withdraw. A French jailer, a servant of the German fascist forces, quickly sent a "congratulatory" message to the communists being detained in a large prison: "So this is your Russia! It has been defeated by Germany!" The jailer then received a proper "slap in the face": the communists sternly replied: "No! The Soviet Union will be victorious."

Engraved in the memory of the Vietnamese are the heartfelt words spoken by Soviet communists: "Solidarity with Vietnam yesterday, today and tomorrow is a mandate of the heart and intellect of Soviet communists, of all Soviet citizens." The Vietnamese thank M.S. Gorbachev for his high assessment of Vietnam's revolution. In the address delivered in Vladivostok in July 1986, he stated that socialism had achieved a solid foothold in Vietnam and that "the heroic experience of Vietnam and the lesson of Vietnam's victory over imperialism once again show the invincible power of the ideas of freedom and socialism."

The immortal friendship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, this is the source of the enormous strength of our people in the great cause of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

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Activities Commemorating the Anniversary of the October Revolution, an Important Form of Struggle in Vietnam During the Years from 1930 to 1945

4210003m Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Oct 87 Special Issue pp 64-69

[Article by Dinh Xuan Lam and Ngo Dang Tri]

[Text] To the Vietnamese revolution, especially during the years from 1930 to 1945, activities commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution have not only been an expression of international solidarity with the Soviet Union, but have also provided a very important opportunity for and form of national liberation struggle.

Continuous and Diverse Commemorative Activities

After accepting Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution, Nguyen Ai Quoc engaged in tireless activities to bring Vietnam's revolutionary movement within the orbit of the world revolution, the orbit of the proletarian revolution. The activities conducted by him and his students in the late 1920's led to the birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam on 3 February 1930. From then on, under the leadership of the party, every revolutionary activity of our people, including commemorations of the anniversary of the October Revolution, had a clear purpose and was profoundly national in color and international in spirit.

The activities conducted during the years from 1930 to 1945 to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution, unlike those conducted during the last years of the preceding decade, had an important purpose in addition to propagandizing and spreading the thinking of Marxism-Leninism, of the October Revolution, namely, to train the masses, move toward an armed uprising to put political power into the hands of the people and establish a social system as beautiful as Soviet society. The ceremony held on 7 November 1930 to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution marked the glorious start of the process of celebrating this anniversary in the years to follow.

At that time, our country's revolution was developing strongly in the 1930- 1931 movement. As a result, spirited activities of many unprecedented forms were organized by our party and people to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution. These celebrations were held everywhere in North, Central and South Vietnam: in Hanoi, Ha Dong, Vinh Yen, Nam Dinh, Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Saigon, Tan An... In addition to distributing propaganda leaflets and putting up propaganda posters concerning the October Revolution, demonstrations and marches were held in the provinces of Ha Tinh, Nghe An and Thai Binh.

In Nghe Tinh, under the leadership of local party organizations, the masses at many places publicly raised the red flag with hammer and sickle, distributed leaflets and held spirited meetings. The Huong Khe District Party Committee mobilized some 5,300 demonstrators to march in a show of force to suppress counter-revolutionaries. They set fire to 22 watch towers of the French imperialists at Nam Trieu. The Dien Chau District Party Committee mobilized 1,500 demonstrators to march on the district seat demanding lower taxes. The Yen Thanh District Party Committee mobilized 1,000 persons to march on the district seat demanding the abolition of the head tax and lower taxes for peasants. The people of Thanh Chuong, Anh Son and Nam Dan Districts held demonstrations protesting the establishment of army camps within their districts by the French imperialists and their lackeys.

In Thai Binh Province, more than 700 peasants from Nho Lam, Dong Cao and Thanh Giam held a meeting on 14 October 1930 to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution. In the spirit of "following the peasants of Russia in combating oppression and exploitation and making land to the tiller a reality," the demonstrators marched on the Tien Hai District seat, demanding that the rulers cease shooting and killing peasants of Nghe Tinh, demanding lower taxes and demanding payment for digging the Coc canal. They shouted the slogan: "Support the Soviet Union."

In late 1931, the revolutionary movement began to temporarily subside nationwide. The Nghe-Tinh Soviets—a form of administration of workers and peasants based on the soviets in the Russian October Revolution—were ruthlessly suppressed by the enemy. However, on 7 November, the red flag with hammer and sickle still appeared on Duong Canh Mountain and at the Chang Market in Kim Ban District in Ha Nam Ninh Province. In Nam Dinh City gunfire broke out in many cities during the night of 6 November 1930: at the police station, at the barracks of indigenous troops, at the court house, at the flag pole, at the Rong Market... On the night of 7 November power was cut for 2 or 3 minutes in the city by our workers in order to create an opportunity to spread leaflets within Nam Dinh. Demonstrations conducted by peasants of Huong Son District in Ha Tinh Province and Yen Thanh and Hung Nguyen Districts in Nghe An Province to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution turned into armed conflicts with forces of the colonial administration. On the occasion of this holiday, LAO KHO and GUONG VO SAN Newspapers of the Nghe An Provincial Party Committee devoted special issues to the October Revolution.

During the years from 1932 to 1935, years of struggle to restore the revolutionary movement, it was much more difficult to organize celebrations of the anniversary of the October Revolution. But our party still celebrated this anniversary on an appropriate scale and in appropriate ways.

On 7 November 1933, in Tra Vinh, the red flag with hammer and sickle appeared at outdoor markets and slogans commemorating the October Revolution were posted on river ferries. In Tan An and Ben Tre, similar forms of commemoration appeared. On 1 October 1934, in Sa Dec, our party organized a meeting attended by some 500 persons to commemorate the October Revolution. Deserving of attention among the commemorative activities conducted during this period were the activities of revolutionary militants in the prisons of the colonialists. Following the 1930-1931 movement, many communist party members and patriotic masses were imprisoned. Making the best of their situation, our comrades in prison organized classes in academic subjects, conducted political training classes and published newspapers. On the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution, LAO TU Journal at the Hoa Lo Prison, SUOI REO Newspaper at the Son

La Prison and other papers and journals of brothers and sisters in the Vinh, Lao Bao, Buon Ma Thuot and other prisons published articles on the October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union. These articles and the meetings held in prison to commemorate 7 November were very unique and "especially Vietnamese" forms of commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution during that period. The enemy was very frightened by these "sit-in" meetings of prisoners. They also never imagined that the red flag with hammer and sickle and leaflets commemorating the October Revolution would appear right within their cells and dark dungeons.

From 1936 to 1939, during the period of the Democratic Front, our party, taking advantage of its public, lawful status, organized many different forms of celebrations of the October Revolution and celebrated its anniversary on a larger scale.

In early November 1936, in the Quang Ninh mining region, our party launched a campaign to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution. It appealed to workers to follow the example set by Russian workers. And, on 13 November 1936, the party successfully launched a major strike by workers throughout the mining region, thus forcing mine owners to meet their demands for higher wages, fewer working hours and the improvement of working conditions. On this occasion, many leaflets appeared in Vinh, Nam Dinh, Thai Binh... The most detailed activities commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution during this period took the form of press propaganda introducing the Soviet Union, refuting the distortions of the socialist revolution by the Trotskyites, protesting the imperialist war, denouncing fascism and supporting the Soviet Union.

Revolutionary press materials, such as TRANH DAU (LE LUTTE), DAN CHUNG (LE PEUPLE), LAO DONG (LE TRAVAIL), TIN TUC, (BOLSHEVIK) and other newspapers published one special issue after another commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution during the years from 1936 to 1938. In 1938, our party published the book "Twenty-one Years Ago," which presented the important lessons and experiences of the great October Socialist Revolution. In its views as well as in practice, our party attached very much importance to the spirited democratic activities of this period. As a result, it made every effort to propagandize and enlighten the people concerning every aspect of preparing their battle position and forces for the next stage of development. Therefore, our party gave attention to emphasizing the experiences gained during the period spent preparing for the October Revolution when propagandizing the masses. And, history has proven that this period of democratic activity had the same impact upon our country's 1945 August Revolution as the February 1917 democratic revolution had upon the Russian October Revolution.

In the period of the 1939-1945 national liberation campaign, with fascism waging a war of aggression against the Soviet Union, our people's celebrations of the anniversary of the October Revolution were oriented by the party toward matters with deeper meaning. Although these activities were not as public as before, they were very specific and practical.

On the days that this anniversary was celebrated in the years from 1939 to 1944, our party distributed leaflets supporting the Soviet Union and organized mass associations, such as the "Soviet Friendship Society," the "Soviet Support Group," the "Soviet Union Research Group" and so forth. During this period, our party also attached importance to propagandizing and agitating among Vietnamese soldiers and colonial soldiers to persuade them to turn their weapons on the fascist imperialists and defect to the Soviet Red Army if sent to attack the Soviet Union. During this period, the activities conducted to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution reached their highest and most decisive forms of development, forms which included combining political struggle with armed struggle and coordinating with the Soviet Union in the fight against the Japanese fascists. In its 11 November 1944 issue, CO GIAI PHONG Newspaper stated: "On the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution, let us raise our hands and voices to sing the praises of the glorious victories of the Soviet people and promise to follow the brave example in combat of the Soviet Union (...). People of Indochina, close ranks under the banner of the Indochinese Communist Party in order to seize the opportunity to win freedom and independence for our race."

It can be said that throughout these 15 years of arduous revolutionary struggle and despite constant suppression and terror by enemies of the class and the nation, the activities conducted by our people under the leadership of the party to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution took place every year. The forms that these activities took were diverse and developed steadily. Some were unique and creative. Ho Chi Minh, who initiated, led and constantly observed these activities of our people during the years from 1930 to 1945, once observed: "...Despite the need for utmost secrecy, despite the difficulty and danger, our people have held ceremonies to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution each year. A few days before and after these celebrations, leaflets and posters with the slogans 'support the great Soviet Union!' and 'long live communism' have secretly appeared.

And, we have often seen the red flag with hammer and sickle fluttering atop hills and very high trees or stuck sideways in barbed wire fences. At places along rivers and streams, we have frequently seen banana rafts or bamboo rafts carrying red flags with hammer and sickle bobbing in the water.

Moreover, the red flag with hammer and sickle has also frequently been seen flying above jails, prisons and army camps... Each time this anniversary has been celebrated, comrades of ours have been arrested, detained or beheaded by the French colonialists in retaliation." (Footnote 1) (Ho Chi Minh: "On Lenin and Leninism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, pp 118-119) These continuous and diverse activities reflected the deep spirit of international solidarity of our party and people with the Soviet Union. At the same time, these celebrations also provided an opportunity for our party and people to intensify and further enhance the activities conducted in their own revolutionary struggle. These continuous and diverse activities had an enormous impact upon the development of our country's revolution. More important, however, was the substance of these commemorative activities.

An Important Form of Struggle for National Liberation

The people of all countries and all progressive forces in the world celebrate the Russian October Revolution as one of the most important events of mankind. However, the specific purposes, requirements and substance of these activities to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution depend upon the circumstances and revolutionary tasks in each stage of the revolution of each country. In the case of Vietnam's revolution in the years from 1930 to 1945, these activities were, in essence, a very important form of the struggle for national liberation, the struggle to win independence and freedom for the fatherland and put political power into the hands of the working people. This was one of the innovations of our party, was a unique feature of the Vietnamese revolution.

From the day it was founded, our party correctly asserted that the Vietnamese revolution is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution and must maintain close ties with the revolutions of the fraternal countries. At the same time, our party emphasized that the main task of our country's revolution was to focus all efforts on resisting the imperialists and the feudalists with the aim of achieving national liberation. Under its unswerving line of national independence closely tied to socialism, our party did everything it could to combine activities supporting the Soviet Union, combine praising the victories of the October Socialist Revolution with activities against the French colonialists and Japanese fascists and demands for better living conditions and democracy, for independence and freedom for the nation.

During the 1930-1931 period, besides propaganda slogans concerning the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and Marxism-Leninism, our party advanced slogans demanding better living conditions and democracy and appropriate slogans of political struggle, such as "higher wages," "fewer working hours," "the freedom to strike, demonstrate and assemble," "hands off the workers and peasants of Nghe Tinh and Thai Binh"...

During the period from 1932 to 1935, our party also flexibly combined domestic demands and foreign policy demands under the common goals of restoring the revolutionary movement and strengthening the confidence of the masses, of cadres and party members. All the leaflets commemorating this anniversary during this period made two appeals: "Defend the Soviet Union" and "follow the Soviet Union." In 1933, LAO NONG Newspaper, the organ of the western Cochinchina Executive Committee, after citing the historical significance of the October Revolution, pointed out that the purposes for celebrating this anniversary were to "emulate the spirit of the staunch militants who have struggled and sacrificed their lives for the interests of the class" and "learn from the experience of the October Revolution." On this basis, concrete actions were urged: "Places that have the necessary forces should mobilize them for struggles, demonstrations, meetings and a show of force" and "use the opportunity to celebrate the October Revolution to struggle for vital interests: resist taxes and demand the elimination of the head tax; demand an 8-hour day with social security for workers; demand subsidies for unemployed workers; protest the campaign of terror and demand the release of political prisoners." In a 1935 leaflet commemorating the October Revolution, our party directed the attention of all levels to adopting new forms and themes of activities and explained that "the celebrations of the October Revolution are different each year because our party always relates these celebrations to the current interests and needs of workers and peasants (...). We celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution to display the forces of our workers and peasants just as France holds parades, maneuvers and celebrations on 14 July each year to maintain a stable capitalist system." These commemorative activities and these leaflets played a positive role in restoring the revolutionary movement and bringing our country's revolution beyond the difficult years of 1932 to 1935 and to a new level of development.

In the 1936-1939 democratic campaign, although the party did not make national liberation the main goal, the activities conducted to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution still met both requirements of serving the common interests of the world revolution and the practical, specific interests of Vietnam's revolution. Besides the slogans "oppose the imperialist war," "support the Russian Soviet Union," "support the Chinese and Spanish soviets," "support peace"... our party also introduced the slogans "a totally independent Indochina" and "oppose fascism abroad and at home." Besides the slogans "long live the Russian October Socialist Revolution" and "long live the Communist International, the headquarters of the world proletariat," there were the slogans "long live the victorious Indochinese revolution" and "long live the Indochinese Communist Party." In particular, our party took full advantage of the favorable conditions existing during this period to widely propagandize the experience of the October Revolution in seizing power, especially the experiences gained during the period from February to

October 1917. At the same time, the party criticized and strongly attacked the "leftist" thinking of the Trotskyites and ideological views of other opportunists seeking to pull the masses far from communism, far from the path of the October Revolution. Even during this period, our party continued to direct everyone's attention to "the need to give careful thought to the October Revolution and follow its example."

In the period from 1939 to 1945, the period of direct preparations for the general uprising to seize power, the activities conducted by our people to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution were more closely associated with national liberation. During this period, our party used the celebration of this anniversary to strongly cultivate the spirit of patriotism and the concept of an armed uprising among the various strata of the people. A 1940 commemorative leaflet of the party stated: "We fervently appeal to our friends to wake up and join the ranks of the National Salvation Front—the anti-imperialist national front—to tighten ranks, respond to and continue the uprisings in Bac Son and Binh Gia in order to quickly spread the rebellion to all parts of the country and drive enemy forces from our land." In a directive organizing the celebration in 1941, our party called on all levels to "clearly explain to the masses why supporting the Soviet Union is saving themselves. Supporting the Soviet Union is in the interest of the fatherland..." In 1942, the party's leaflet commemorating the 25th anniversary of the October Revolution more clearly expressed the national theme of these international activities: "Let us unite in struggle to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution, the revolution that gave birth to the Soviet Union. Struggling to support the Soviet Union is struggling against the Japanese and French fascists, against their policies of deception and plunder. Struggling to support the Soviet Union is struggling against the high cost of living and for jobs... The Soviet Union will surely be triumphant. Let us prepare to fight to shatter the chains of France and Japan." In 1943 and 1944, together with propagandizing the victories of the Soviet Red Army in World War II and criticizing the activities conducted by some localities to support the Soviet Union and celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution as "dry and merely a matter of form," the policies of our party on commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution had the purpose of equipping our people with practical experience in preparing for the armed uprising to seize political power. Through these commemorative activities, our party widely explained the matters of building and utilizing forces, the opportunity for an uprising and so forth to all the people. As a result of learning about the experience of the October Revolution and due to its firm confidence in the strength of the Soviet Union, together with many other favorable subjective and objective factors, our party acquired the forces needed, found the opportunity and launched and successfully conducted the 1945 August Revolution. At the same time, in the dialectical relationship they shared,

the activities conducted to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution and the victories of our country's revolution had a positive impact upon the victories of the Soviet Union, the victories of Marxism-Leninism and the world revolution.

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Remembering Those Days

A Few Old Stories Recalled...

42100003n Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 70-72

[Article by Ha Huy Giap]

[Text] On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the great October Russian Socialist Revolution, allow me to share a few stories, some of which took place in society and some in prison, about celebrations of the anniversary of the October Revolution during the years of French domination.

In 1929, Comrade Cuc (that is, Nguyen Van Linh, the current general secretary of our Party Central Committee), then only 14 years of age, was attending the Hai Duong City Elementary School. On the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution, he was assigned the task of distributing leaflets within the city. Arising early, he dressed and went out for a run along the sidewalk, pretending to be exercising. As he ran, he passed out leaflets. He was arrested while performing this task. Although intensely interrogated by the enemy, he told them nothing. The Hai Duong Court sentenced Cuc to 6 months in prison. But the prosecutor objected to this sentence, telling the court that it was incorrect and too lenient. He asked the court of appeals in Hanoi to review the case. According to the prosecutor, because Cuc was still a "youth," he did not need to be put on trial, only sent to the Ong Yem Reform Camp, where the length of his stay would depend upon how repentant he was. Cuc was taken to Hoa Lo Prison in Hanoi, where he awaited a review of his case by the court of appeals. On 10 February 1930, uprisings organized by the Vietnam Nationalist Party broke out in Yen Bai and several other places. Frightened by the growing storm of revolution, the Hanoi Court of Appeals hastily sentenced Cuc to life in prison in Con Dao Prison.

For no other reason than distributing leaflets commemorating the October Revolution, a young student by chance became a dangerous enemy of the French colonialists and given a sentence as severe as the sentences handed down to such predecessors as Phan Chu Trinh, Huynh Thuc Khang, Le Van Huan... Being reactionary and taking this action, the French colonialists "taught Cuc and our people the importance of the October Revolution.

On Con Dao, Cuc was imprisoned along with Nguyen Van Cu, Le Xuan, Pham Van Dong and Hoang Quoc Viet. Making the best of his situation, Cuc, in addition to taking part in the struggle against the abuses and cruelties of everyday prison life, also found time to study academic subjects and politics. At the time of his arrest, Cuc only had an elementary school education. By 1934-35, he had read the classics of Marx, Engels and Lenin and novels and plays written in French.

In 1930, at the wireless telegraph station in Phu Tho (Saigon), on the anniversary of the October Revolution, Le Van Kiet—a technician working at the station—raised a large red flag with hammer and sickle on a large antenna pole under cover of darkness. When dawn broke and they saw the red flag fluttering atop the pole, the masses were very excited. The enemy, however, was deeply angered. They immediately arrested Le Van Kiet because they knew that he was the only person who could have put the flag on the pole. They sentenced Le Van Kiet to life in prison and banished him to Con Dao.

At the Tien River ferry landing, where the ferry crosses from Sa Dec to Cao Lanh (which is now part of Dong Thap Province), tall steel poles had been erected along both banks of the river and strung with telegraph wire. In 1930, on the anniversary of the October Revolution, several comrades, also taking advantage of the cover of darkness, climbed one of these poles on the windward side of the river and, using hooks, attached a red flag with hammer and sickle to two steel wires. As the wind blew, the flag slowly slid along the wires. By dawn, it was about one-third of the way across the river and fluttering in a vast expanse of sky and water. The enemy ranted and raved but could not bring the flag down. As a last resort, they fired on the flag with rifles but only managed to tear it to shreds, not bring it down. It was not until evening, when the wind had blown the flag to the pole on the other side of the river, that they were able to grab the flag and tear it down. That day, the residents of the villages along both sides of the river, ferry passengers and the persons on the boats travelling the river saw the red flag with hammer and sickle flying high in the sky and experienced a feeling of great joy.

In the hell on earth that was the prisons, the ways that the anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated were also very unique. The prison party committees decided to use the celebrations of this anniversary to remind our brothers and sisters in prison of the great achievements recorded by the Soviet Union and the world revolution as a result of the October Revolution and, on this basis, give everyone stronger confidence in the future.

On Con Dao, the prisoners were at first allowed to buy red cloth to make red flags with hammer and sickle to display during celebrations of this anniversary. With these flags raised, the activities conducted to celebrate the anniversary became more formal and meaningful. As a result, they drew the participation of even common

criminals. Later, when prison officials learned of this, they intensified their campaign of terror and prohibited anything red in color from being brought into prisons. Lacking flags, prisoners celebrated the anniversary by gathering to sing the Internationale and give talks on the Soviet Union. Some prisoners had memorized the book "Diary of a Sinking Ship" by Nguyen Ai Quoc and recited each passage from it that pertained to the Soviet Union. As a result of being held in the formal and serious atmosphere of a ceremony, these meetings to read books and give talks had an even greater impact in inspiring revolutionary zeal and building confidence, such an impact that the French colonialists had to admit that the "Diary of a Sinking Ship" was "an effective weapon of communism."

In 1941, when Hitler's fascists suddenly attacked and swept into the Soviet Union, reactionary prison officials at many prisons seized this opportunity to provoke prisoners. They taunted prisoners, saying that revolutionaries had stopped shouting "long live the Soviet Union" because the Soviet Union was about to be destroyed. Pro-Japanese elements rejoiced over the Soviet Union being attacked by Hitler. They loudly proclaimed that Japan would win victory in Asia. In the face of these reactionary arguments, prisoners pointed out that after occupying all of Europe, Napoleon sent his forces to attack czarist Russia. He reached Moscow but ultimately suffered a tragic defeat and was banished to an island, where he died. And although Petain has surrendered to Hitler, Hitler would surely be defeated and die an even more tragic death than Napoleon. The Soviet Union would liberate France and all mankind from the scourge of fascism.

Confused and angered by the Bac Son and Nam Ky uprisings and the Do Luong mutiny, the enemy was made even angrier by these words of analysis as they intensified their campaign of terror nationwide, especially within the prisons. The basic organizations of the party in the prisons and concentration camps decided, depending upon the circumstances at each place, to organize formal yet practical celebrations of the anniversary of the October Revolution with a view toward displaying the will of revolutionaries and refuting the arguments of the reactionaries. During these celebrations, prisoners came together to analyze the current situation and point out the initial defeats and the inevitable and total defeat of the fascists.

When the Soviet Union won its great victory over German forces in Stalingrad, prison officials had their eyes opened and expressed admiration for the foresight of the revolutionaries.

In 1943, after the Japanese arrived in Indochina, the French were more "lenient" toward communist prisoners. As a result, prisoners were able to formally commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution. At many prisons, these anniversaries were marked by the display of red flags with hammer and sickle, parades and

the singing of the Internationale. These ceremonies were usually followed by dinners. And, also in 1943, as the counter-attacks of the Soviet Red Army dealt increasingly strong blows to the fascists, our Party Central Committee issued a secret order calling upon prisoners to try to escape from prison in order to seize the once in 1,000 years opportunity created by the victory of the Red Army and advance to the uprising to seize political power and win back the nation's independence and freedom.

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The Raising of the Red Flag with Hammer and Sickle on Nhon Nuc Mountain

42100003o Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 73-75, 82

[Article by Nguyen Van Hoan]

[Text] In March 1927, after being accepted into the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, I was sent to Canton to attend a training class being held by Ly Thuy, which was the alias being used by the revered President Ho Chi Minh at that time. Through his lessons, he began to equip us with necessary knowledge of the theory of national liberation and the socialist revolution and the methods of revolutionary agitation. According to Ly Thuy, to make revolution, it was first necessary to have a revolutionary party in order to agitate and organize the masses at home and maintain liaison with the oppressed peoples and the proletariat in the countries overseas. The party had to be strong in order for the revolution to be successful. To be strong, the party needed to have a philosophy. There were many theories and philosophies, but the most genuine, the surest and most revolutionary was Leninism.

Expressing himself very clearly, Ly Thuy spoke at great length and in deep detail about the history of the Russian revolution, especially the history of the 1917 October Revolution. He cited and stressed the importance of the relationship between the Russian October Revolution and the Vietnamese revolution. He taught and showed us that in the world at that time, only the Russian October Revolution had achieved "complete" success, because, it was the most thorough of revolutions and had brought to the people true happiness, freedom and equality. At home, the Russian revolution toppled the nobility, land-owners and wealthy peasants. Overseas, it was helping workers, peasants and oppressed peoples to make revolution and topple imperialism and world capitalism. Ly Thuy concluded: the Russian October Revolution teaches us that in order for a revolution to be successful, it must be based on the masses (workers and peasants), must be led by a strong and courageous party, must make sacrifices and be united. In summary, it must adhere to Marxism and Leninism.

One other key theoretical point that we learned well was that the Vietnamese revolution had to follow the path of the Russian October Revolution. The main forces of the Vietnamese revolution were workers and peasants. The leader of the revolution had to be a Marxist-Leninist party and, the Vietnamese revolution was a part of the world revolution.

Upon the completion of my training, I returned home to conduct activities. On Ton Hung Street, now Tuc Mac Street, I met Pham Van Dong, who had arrived from Canton a few days before me. When we said good-bye, Dong left for Quang Nghia to sow the seeds of Marxism-Leninism in his home province, I departed for the municipality of Nam Dinh to assume my task.

On 17 June 1929, at number 312 Kham Thien Street in Hanoi, the Indochinese Communist Party was secretly established. As a result of direct guidance received from the Tonkin Provisional Regional Party Committee and the preparations made by it, the Nam Dinh provincial party organization was established on 19 June and the Ninh Binh party organization came into being on 21 June.

That year, the Provisional Central Committee of the Party decided to formally commemorate the 12th anniversary of the October Revolution to express our profound gratitude to and heartily congratulate the first socialist state of mankind and confirm the fact that it was leading our people along the path of revolution charted for the nation by our leader Nguyen Ai Quoc.

In early October 1929, in keeping with this decision, the leadership of the Ninh Binh provincial party organization met and decided:

- To publish a clandestine newspaper called DAN CAY Newspaper;
- To distribute leaflets and paste up banners at crowded places;
- To raise a flag in Ninh Binh City.

The collective decided to raise the flag on Non Nuoc Mountain, because it stood in a very important position in the middle of the city, lying close to the railroad and the intersection of National Highway 1 and the Ninh Binh-Nam Dinh Interprovincial Highway. The flag had to be raised on the mountain's highest peak (during the resistance against France, this peak was leveled by the French colonialists).

As we were beginning our work, the upper level transferred two youths on our leadership committee, one to the Propaganda and Training Department of the Central Committee and one to the Standing Committee of the Thai Binh Provincial Party Committee. Everything was left up to me to do, with the assistance of a number of party members and a Youth Association member named

Luong Van Tuy. I had estimated that we would need 5 dong to spend on this activity. After many days of running around, we managed to obtain this money with the assistance of comrades and fellow countrymen sympathetic to the revolution. But it would not be easy to buy the materials we needed, such as cloth to make the flag and ink, in a city as small as Ninh Binh City was then because such purchases were quickly learned about by the enemy. There was also the problem of writing the leaflets and making the flag in secrecy. We had to avoid the prying eyes of neighbors and searches by village officials and enemy informers. And, as we went about our work, the small thatch home of Mrs Do Dinh in Phuc Am Village in the outskirts of the city, which she gave to the party to use as a headquarters, would be unguarded.

On 1 November 1929, DAN CAY Newspaper, the organ of the Ninh Binh provincial party organization, a paper published twice a month, written in hand and printed on student notebook paper under the symbol of the hammer and sickle, first appeared before readers. All six pages of the paper were devoted to a summary history of the October Revolution and an appeal to the people of Ninh Binh to unite and arise to save the nation under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party. Together with DAN CAY Newspaper, banners written in whitewash on red paper and leaflets printed in scarlet ink on white paper were sent down to the basic organizations within the province. Foremost among these slogans were the following:

- Long live the October Revolution!
- Support the Soviet Union!
- Long live the Soviet Union!
- Long live the Indochinese Communist Party!

In the center of the red flag we made was a symbol of the hammer and sickle drawn in whitewash. On either side of this symbol were the words "Support the Soviet Union!" and "Long Live the Soviet Union!" Above the symbol was "7-11-1917—7-11-1929." Below it in small letters were the words: "The Indochinese Communist Party."

As the day of the anniversary approached, the enemy became very vigilant. Agents were dispatched to conduct searches everywhere. On the night of 6 November 1929, they arrested 40 suspects. Because, several months earlier, on 1 August, the day we protested the imperialist war, we had distributed leaflets within the city and at many other places in the province. However, an investigation conducted by us revealed a weakness on the part of the enemy. Their patrols peaked during the early evening hours and decreased toward midnight. By dawn, everything was quiet.

Having learned this, Tuy and I left Phuc Am Village at 0100 hours on the morning of the 7th disguised as two persons going fishing. We carried poles and baskets, inside which were concealed the flag, leaflets and banners. Walking behind the guard tower at the entrance to the village, we headed off in the direction of Non Nuoc Mountain. As we walked, we observed our surroundings. Occasionally, we laid down and pressed our ears to the rock path to listen for the sound of passers-by.

As planned, Tuy hid in a clump of bushes on the back side of the mountain and I quickly climbed the mountain to reconnoiter. On reaching the top, I looked into the guard house and saw that all the soldiers were sound asleep. I went back down to where Tuy was hiding and signaled for him to come up. The two of us then climbed the mountain. When we reached the guard house where the guards were sleeping, Tuy, as planned, climbed empty-handed up to a spot about 4 meters from the top of the mountain. Below, I took the red flag with hammer and sickle from my basket, attached it to the fishing pole and then handed it to Tuy to insert by the highest rock on the mountain peak. I stood guard for Tuy, my eyes constantly watching the sleeping soldiers. When we finished and before climbing down from the mountain, we put up a banner on a beam of the guard house. We also put a leaflet at the soldiers' feet and placed a rock on it to keep it from blowing away.

When we reached the rock path, we joined To, a member of the Truong Yen Village Party Chapter, who had been pasting up banners and distributing leaflets at key points within the city, such as the railroad station, Van Market, the school, the bus depot, etc. We also did not forget to paste up bright red banners with white lettering on the billboards of the court and the police station of the French. At the same time, as planned, other comrades were distributing leaflets and pasting up banners at the Lang Phong Market (in the Nho Quan District Seat), the Me Market (in the Gia Vien District Seat), the But Bridge and But Market in Yen Mo District), the Ghenh Railroad Station, etc.

As dawn broke on the 7th, atop Non Nuoc Mountain, the bright red flag gradually appeared as the sun rose, proudly fluttering in the wind!

The people of the city and surrounding villages, even the people living on the other side of the Day River in former Nam Dinh Province, joyously saw, for the first time in their locality, the red flag with hammer and sickle and the words:

7-11-1917—7-11-1929 Support the Soviet Union! Long live the Soviet Union! The Indochinese Communist Party

The enemy, enraged, shouted to one another to quickly bring down the flag. But they were also very frightened, because, hanging beside the flag were two grenades. They tried all morning but were not able to bring the flag down

until 1100 hours. It was not until they found out that the grenades did not explode that they realized that the grenades were nothing more than 2 bananas covered with dirt and made to look like grenades. It was Luong Van Tuy's idea to make fake grenades.

It can be said the red flag with hammer and sickle which flew atop Non Nuoc Mountain was one of the first red flags with hammer and sickle in the entire country. It was an indelible symbol of the close relationship between the Vietnamese revolution and the October Revolution and the close affection between the Vietnamese, who were then writhing under the domination of the French colonialists, and the heroic Soviet people. Luong Van Tuy and I were overjoyed to have been able to complete the task assigned to us.

On 18 November, while taking copies of issue Number 2 of DAN CAY Newspaper, which carried a drawing and an article on the event that occurred on Non Nuoc Mountain, to the Yen Mo District Seat, Tuy and I were arrested. After being brutally tortured and put on trial in the court of appeals on 24 April 1930, I was sentenced to life in prison at hard labor and Tuy was sentenced to 15 years in prison at hard labor. I was 23 years old that year, Tuy was 16. We both had to serve our sentences at the prison on Con Dao Island. In 1933, Tuy escaped prison and sacrificed his life at sea. Deeply saddened by the news of his death, I wrote two poems in tribute to Tuy, the first of which was:

Alas, Tuy is dead! A compassionate militant only 20 years old! Of the two who raised the flag on Non Nuoc Mountain, only one remains. Of the pair who wrote DAN CAY Newspaper, only one-half remains. They inspired the masses as a festival does. They enraged the enemy! Your name will be associated with Non Nuoc Mountain for a thousand years. But your great heart lies at the bottom of the sea!

(This poem was subsequently printed in the "Thirty-five Year Anthology of Vietnamese Literature")

Following the liberation of the capital, the historic Non Nuoc flag was found in the "evidence files" left behind by the French at the Hanoi Court of Appeals. The flag is currently on display at the Ha Nam Ninh Museum. An identical copy of the flag was presented as a gift to the city Museum of Bryansk, the brotherhood city of Ninh Binh.

This year, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the great October Revolution and at age 80, I put these memories to paper with a wish for success to the glorious CPSU and the heroic Soviet people in the reform and restructuring campaign now being carried out in accordance with the resolution of the party's 27th Congress.

The October Revolution and Our Faith in It
42100003p Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 76-77

[Article by Le Van Hien]

[Text] Although several decades have passed, the memory of the deep feelings, the great joy I felt when I first heard and learned about the Russian October Revolution is still fresh. With that event, my faith in the inevitable victory of the proletarian revolution in the world and in our Vietnam grew many times and became a more conscious belief. It truly became a motivating factor, a source of joy and an enormous source of comfort inspiring us to move ahead and surmount the bitter challenges of the months and years we lived in the cruel prison system of the French colonialists. We revolutionary activists were extremely excited, as though we had just found something precious that showed us the future revolution in Vietnam, showed that the Russia of that day would be the Vietnam of tomorrow, that socialism, once only a theory, a dream, had become reality. These realizations and this faith were further bolstered among our political prisoners by the annual celebrations of the anniversary of the October Revolution, the celebration of the birthdays of the three L's (Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg) and the tenacious, bloody struggles against the barbarous acts of suppression of the colonialists and prison officials at the Quang Nam and Da Nang Prisons, the Kontum Dungeon and the forced labor camps in Dac Giay and Dac To. The extremely brutal and cruel treatment of prisoners by the colonialists only served to

"Add fuel to the fire. When one person was killed, a thousand others arose." (Footnote 1) (From a poem on the October Revolution) They never crushed the will to fight, the confidence or the optimism of hardly any of we "political prisoners." We often composed poems on the revolution, often "tasted" with satisfaction poems on the October Revolution:

"Revolutionary life has swept the land. Russian workers and peasants have raised the first flag. In 10 days that shook the globe. Setting an example for their friends throughout the world."

Following the example of the Soviet Union, of the October Revolution, was not only the desire and hope, the feeling and determination of ours, but also of all revolutionary militants in our country at that time.

Because we were separated by distance and denied information by the enemy, our knowledge of the Soviet Union and the proletarian revolution was limited back then. Despite this, we still organized debates in prison and discussed matters in order to raise our awareness. We struggled against the Trotskyite and reformist views that had infiltrated Vietnam, views which held that if the proletariat did not make up the majority of the country's population, it could not win political power or, if it did,

could not maintain this power. Fortunately, many prisoners had directly participated in the Nghe Tinh Soviets movement and some had studied or been trained in the theory of Marxism-Leninism or heard leaders of the party explain Marxism-Leninism. This helped us to realize that under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, the proletariat was capable of bringing together around itself a broad and united bloc of the people, at the nucleus of which was the alliance of workers and peasants, and arise to topple the old administration and establish and maintain a new administration of the proletariat, the representative of the interests of the working people.

During the days of bitter challenges faced by the Soviet people in the great patriotic war, whenever we heard news of temporary defeats, we never panicked or vacillated, rather, we remained firmly confident in final victory. The glorious and great victories of the Soviet Red Army that destroyed the German fascists and routed the Kwandong Army of Japan brought greater inspiration and momentum to the urgent and spirited activities to prepare for our August Revolution.

It can be said that at all times of difficulty and although far from the Soviet Union, our hearts, in particular, and the hearts of all Vietnamese revolutionaries, in general, always turn toward the heroic land of the Soviets, the land that gave birth to the great October Revolution, the land that endured many losses and sacrifices to assist the cause of revolution in all countries of the world, especially our Vietnamese revolution.

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A Memorable Day in Nosy Lava Prison
42100003q Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 78-80

[Article by Le Gian]

[Text] When the yoke of domination by the French colonialists was upon our country, I, as a result of being enlightened and having participated in revolutionary activities since 1929, participated in many celebrations of the anniversaries of the October Revolution, sometimes in public, sometimes in secret, in society and in prisons. But to this day, there is one celebration of this anniversary that I still remember very vividly due to its significance and unique form, the celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution in 1941 on a small island thousands of kilometers from our fatherland.

In late May 1941, while in Son La Prison, I and a number of other comrades were banished to Nosy Lava Island. It is a small island, about 10 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide, that lies northwest of Madagascar. The native population back then was less than 60 persons, including children. It is an island of golden sandy beaches, abundant sunshine and a wide variety of marine life. The

shore is lined with luxuriant fruit trees. But the rivers and streams are teeming with crocodiles, which were usually seen lying along the banks waiting to grab an ox or goat and drag it into the water. In the sea, there are sharks, often in schools. Anyone who waded into the surf could become shark bait, even in chest-deep water. Although it had no high walls or iron gates, an island with so many crocodiles and sharks was clearly a solid prison.

At that time, there were 27 Vietnamese prisons on Nosy Lava, 17 of whom were communist party members, 8 of whom were pro-Japanese and 2 of whom were Trotskyites. All the pro-Japanese prisoners who had been banished to the island by the French harbored the illusion that the fascists would win victory and become rulers of the world. They believed that they would then be welcomed home and given high positions. Although imprisoned along with us, their attitude toward us was usually hostile. We, on the other hand, tried to maintain amiable relations and help them to see the truth, to see the error in their views.

On the island, our material life was not such that we lived in privation. But in our spiritual life, we experienced very many torments. We missed our homes, our homeland, our relatives, friends and comrades, often to the point of not being able to eat or sleep. The greatest torment was not knowing anything about the situation at home and in the world, especially about the world war that was being fought. We thirsted for news of the fighting, the Soviet-German Front, the ability of the Soviet Union to defend itself, etc. Because, we very clearly understood that our fate was very closely tied to the development of the situation. If the Soviet Union were to defend itself and win victory, the Vietnamese revolution would also be victorious.

We lived with a constant thirst for news. Although a ship resupplied the island twice each month, the sailors who came to the island never supplied us with any news because they, themselves, were not interested in the world situation. After discussing it amongst ourselves, we assigned Hoang Dinh Rong, who was fluent in Chinese, to write letters and asked these sailors to deliver them to overseas Chinese in the cities of Madagascar. In these letters, we asked them to buy one thing or another for us and also inquired about the world situation.

Several months later, we received news, and the news was good. An overseas Chinese had replied to Hoang Dinh Rong's letter. He told us that German forces had not been able to reach Moscow. After several offensives, German forces had been driven back hundreds of kilometers by the Red Army.

The letter bearing this good news arrived on 24 November 1941. To the communist prisoners on Nosy Lava, it was a day that they would never forget. Five months earlier, as the ship carried us across the ocean into exile, we received news that German forces had launched an

unprovoked attack on the Soviet Union. Hundreds of fascist divisions had poured into the land of the Soviets. The Red Army had to temporarily withdraw. Although we were all confident that the Soviet Union would ultimately be victorious, we could not help but be worried in view of the German's initial strength.

In early 1941, we decided to secretly organize a celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution among the 17 communist prisoners. However, we reconsidered this decision and postponed the celebration in order to maintain amiable relations with the pro-Japanese Vietnamese prisoners. When we received the good news that the Soviet Union was still defending itself and was blocking the advance of the enemy, our hearts swelled with joy. Hoang Dinh Rong, Phan Boi, Nguyen Van Phong and Pham Khich suggested that we celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution, even though it was already 24 November.

Their suggestion was quickly and unanimously endorsed. We decided to organize a celebration of the October Revolution and invite everyone to attend. It would be a light and relaxing celebration, one free of provocation. The small piece of good news that we had just received would be the focus of the celebration.

Two days later, on 26 November, we held a dinner. Rong and Dich had kitchen duty that day. Products we had grown on the island plus the culinary skills of these two men produced a rather sumptuous meal, one complete with all kinds of European, Asian and ethnic dishes.

Following the "banquet," all 27 "prison guests" began talking with one another about everything, even telling jokes. Merry laughter filled the air. When the atmosphere had become relaxed and open, one of us asked: "Does anyone know if it is winter in Europe now?"

Nguyen The Song, the younger brother of Nguyen The Truyen, who had lived in France and in Germany for many years, replied:

Yes, it is winter in Europe and there is a lot of snow."

Another person casually asked:

"Does anyone know if Hitler has occupied Moscow yet?"

Thus began the celebration, a celebration without flags, pictures or slogans, without a statement of purpose or opening speech. It was a celebration that seemed spontaneous and accidental in which one thought led to and complimented another and the conversation was frank, like a good "heart to heart" talk interspersed with talk of other things, but which actually had been completely pre-arranged.

Practically everyone had something to say and listened to what the others said. Hoang Dinh Rong, Phan Boi, Tran Van Minh...were constantly ready to steer the conversation toward the central subject.

Everyone had a different thought to express and addressed a different aspect of the issue. Combined, they enabled each of us to reach our own conclusions. In general, these conclusions were: Hitler had proclaimed that he would occupy the Soviet Union in a few weeks, no later than the start of winter. But 5 months had passed and German forces were still bogged down in the outskirts of Moscow. Thus, the fascist aggressors had been unable to achieve their objective. This was because the Soviet Union was a country of working people led by a communist party. When all the working people are truly the masters of the country, they are determined to defend it.

Having managed to resist for 5 months and change the "blitzkrieg" character of the war of aggression, the Soviet Union would ultimately win total victory and the German-Italian-Japanese fascists would be totally defeated. Because, the more the Soviet people fought, the more determined and experienced they would become. Because, the struggle against fascism in the other countries of the world would help the Soviet Union to destroy fascism. And, because, the peoples of the colonial countries, deceived at first, would gradually come to see the truth and arise to strip away the mask of reactionary rulers and struggle against them.

This is how we celebrated the 24th anniversary of the October Revolution in prison on Nosy Lava. The celebration was in the form of a dialogue, a dialogue based solely on the news that the Soviet Union had changed the "blitzkrieg" character of Hitler's war of aggression. In the dialogue, although our level of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism was still low, we tried, with absolute faith, to use the dialectic to first persuade ourselves and then persuade others.

Today, I still have a very deep memory of that celebration. Retelling the story of that day as our people joyfully celebrate the 70th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, I think, with a feeling of sadness, about the comrades who are no longer with us, such as Hoang Dinh Rong, Phan Boi and Tran Van Minh, and know that countless other comrades, persons who shared the seemingly hopeless plight of imprisonment, also remained confident in the revolution, in the Soviet Union and looked for every way to sincerely express their feelings toward the great Soviet Union.

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Materials

Lenin on Vietnam and Indochina

42100003r Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Oct 87 Special Issue pp 81-82

[Text] In 1908, in an article entitled "Inflammable Material in World Politics" carried in NGUOI VO SAN Newspaper, Number 33, 23 July (5 August 1908), while

discussing the revolutionary movement in the strongly developed countries of Europe and Asia and the insane reaction by the Western imperialists, V.I. Lenin wrote the following concerning the situation in Indochina:

"That some of the participants in colonial plunder are this time greatly concerned is borne out by the way the French are acting in Indochina: they helped the 'historic authorities' in China to put down the revolutionaries! They feared equally for the safety of their 'own' Asian possessions bordering on China." (V.I. Lenin: *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 17, p 217)

In the spring of 1916, when writing "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," V.I. Lenin devoted many pages to a debate with Kautsky (one of the leaders of the German Social-Democrat Party and the Second International, who later betrayed Marxism), which contained the following passage related to the situation in colonial Indochina:

"Indeed, it is enough to compare well known and indisputable facts to become convinced of the utter falsity of the prospects which Kautsky tries to conjure up before the German workers (and the workers of all lands). Let us consider India, Indochina and China. It is known that these three colonial and semi-colonial countries, which have a population of 600 to 700 million, are subjected to the exploitation of the finance capital of several imperialist powers: Great Britain, France, Japan, the United States, etc. Let us assume that these imperialist countries form alliances against one another in order to protect or enlarge their possessions, their interests and their spheres of influence in these Asian states. These alliances will be 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances." (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Volume 27, p 528)

In July 1916, in an article entitled "The Discussion on Self-determination Summed Up," which was subsequently printed in "Anthology of THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT," Number 1, October 1916, and signed N. Lenin, the following was stressed in the section on the struggle of the oppressed peoples:

"What has the crisis revealed from the standpoint of the movement of oppressed nations? In the colonies there have been a number of attempts at rebellion, which the oppressor nations naturally did all they could to hide by means of military censorship. Nevertheless, it is known that in Singapore the British brutally suppressed a mutiny among their Indian troops; that there were attempts at rebellion in French Annam (see NASHA SLOVO) and in the German Cameroons (see the Junius Pamphlet); that in Europe, on the one hand, there was a rebellion in Ireland, which the 'freedom-loving' English, who did not dare to extend conscription to Ireland, suppressed by executions, and, on the other hand, the Austrian government passed the death sentence on the

deputies of the Czech Diet 'for treason' and shot whole Czech regiments for the same 'crime'." (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, Volume 30, pp 60-67)

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The First Celebration of the Anniversary of the October Revolution in Our Country

42100003s Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
Oct 87 Special Issue pp 83-84

[Article compiled by H.C.]

[Text] The first Vietnamese to deeply understand the worldwide historical significance of the October Revolution and clearly explain it to our people was Nguyen Ai Quoc. He wrote many articles, which were printed in various newspapers, especially in LE PARIA, YOUTH and so forth, introducing the October Revolution. In his book "The Revolutionary Road" published in 1927, Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote: "In the world today, only the Russian revolution has achieved success, and its success has been complete, that is, the masses now enjoy true freedom and equality, not the fake freedom and equality that the French imperialists brag about in Vietnam... The Russian revolution teaches us that to be successful, a revolution must have the masses (workers and peasants) as its base, must have a strong and courageous party, must make sacrifices and be united. In summary, it must adhere to Marxism and Leninism."

Propagandized and educated by Nguyen Ai Quoc and through the specific activities of the first communists of our country trained and forged by Nguyen Ai Quoc, our people gained an increasingly clear understanding of the great significance of the October Revolution. In 1929, on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Indochinese Communist Party, one of the forerunners of our party, organized a nationwide celebration. This was the first time that the working class and people of Vietnam commemorated the anniversary of the October Revolution.

During the night of the 24th and the morning of the 25th of October 1929, many leaflets written in the national language and signed by the Indochinese Communist Party appeared throughout Saigon and adjacent areas. The leaflets were printed on 20cm x 30.5cm paper and bore the symbol of the hammer and sickle. They appealed to the workers and peasants of Indochina to follow the example of the workers and peasants of Russia and arise to topple the capitalists and imperialists. These leaflets of the Indochinese Communist Party, which were dated 24 October 1929, carried the following slogans:

- Down with imperialist capitalism!
- Down with imperialist aggression!

- Down with the Chinese militarists!
- Long live the Russian October Revolution!
- Long live the Soviet Union!
- Long live the world revolution!

On the night of the 6th and the morning of the 7th of November 1929, members of the Indochinese Communist Party spread leaflets and raised the flag in Nhi Xuan District, Ha Tinh Province. The leaflets, which were printed in both Demotic script and the national language, carried the following slogans:

- Against the imperialist war!
- Defend Soviet Russia!
- Down with capitalism!
- Down with the Nam Trieu feudalists!
- Establish a worker-peasant-soldier government!
- Power to the proletariat!
- Put communism into practice!

The ruling imperialists and feudalists tried everything they could to stop the mass movement to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution. In Vinh, the chief of the Secret Police, Marti, offered a 400 dong reward to anyone who caught a person spreading leaflets or raising the communist flag. On 6 November 1929, in Hanoi and the provinces of Tonkin, secret police conducted a large-scale roundup in a vain attempt to prevent the anniversary of the October Revolution from being celebrated. They searched the houses of and arrested many persons in Hanoi, Bac Ninh, Haiphong, Nam Dinh, Hung Yen, etc. In this roundup, they arrested many communist militants, including Ho Ngoc Lan, a leadership cadre in Bac Ninh and staunch revolutionary militant who subsequently bravely sacrificed his life on the guillotine of the French imperialists.

Despite intense efforts by the authorities to prevent them, members of the Indochinese Communist Party spread leaflets and raised flags to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution in practically all the provinces of Tonkin. According to reports by secret police, they confiscated a large number of leaflets and red flags distributed by the Indochinese Communist Party during the night of the 6th and the morning of the 7th of November 1929 in the provinces of Tonkin. Specifically:

In Hanoi: one red flag with hammer and sickle flying on the Long Bien Bridge, 100 leaflets and four red flags at other places within the city and one red flag and two slogans at Phuong Liet, the last stop on the Bach Mai trolley line.

In Ha Dong: hundreds of leaflets, four red flags and two banners.

In Haiphong: 320 leaflets, 74 red flags and banners.

In Nam Dinh: 60 leaflets and 10 red flags.

In Bac Ninh: leaflets and red flags at Dap Cau.

In Phu Ly: leaflets.

In Thai Binh: a very large, 1.4 meter by 1.2 meter, red flag flying at Tan De and eight red flags and many leaflets at other places in the province.

In Ninh Binh: leaflets entitled "Proclamation of the Communist Party."

In Hung Yen: many leaflets and two red flags.

In Thai Nguyen: many leaflets and banners.

In Hai Duong: leaflets and banners.

In Quang Yen: raised red flags with hammer and sickle.

In Hon Gai: leaflets.

In Cam Pha: leaflets and red flags raised while electricity was cut throughout the town.

The authorities caught many persons in the process of distributing leaflets and raising flags. In Hanoi, 12 year old Nguyen Van Chien was arrested while distributing leaflets in Phuong Liet. Although ruthlessly tortured, he told them nothing. In Haiphong, eight persons were arrested while distributing leaflets. Following their arrest, secret police arrested five other persons. In Nam Dinh, nine persons were arrested. In Bac Ninh, five persons were arrested. Three persons were arrested in Ninh Binh, two in Hung Yen, one in Cam Pha...

The above are incomplete data recorded by secret police in some of their documents on the activities of Vietnamese communists during the celebration of the 12th anniversary of the October Revolution in late 1920. From these data, we can also see how large in scale the first celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution in our country was.

Photograph Caption: an article entitled "The October Revolution at 20," written in French, appeared in LE PEUPLE Newspaper, the central organ of the Indochinese Communist Party, which was published openly in

Saigon under the name "the Organ of the Workers and People of Indochina," in its 3 November 1937 issue. [Photograph not reproduced]

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Concerning the Soldiers from Kim Lien Village Who Fought and Died Defending Moscow

42100003t Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Oct 87 Special Issue pp 86-88,77

[Article compiled by Ho Bat Khuat]

[Text] The Muscovites who attended the historic military parade held on 7 November 1941 have always remembered that in the contingents that marched across Red Square waving at the leaders of the Soviet party and state, who were standing at the rostrum on the tomb of Lenin, and then departed for their combat positions were several Vietnamese in one rank. They were soldiers of the International Regiment, which consisted of nearly 1,000 international soldiers from many different countries.

These Vietnamese were working at the Communist International at the time. The International Regiment, which was part of the Independent Mechanized Infantry Brigade and tasked with special missions, was established on 14 August 1941 at the Dynamo Athletic Field in Moscow. A monument commemorating this event now stands at the site.

The Independent Mechanized Infantry Brigade has the mission of defending an area that included the center of Moscow. The brigade's headquarters were located in Trade Union Hall beside Red Square. In October 1941, its soldiers began to build fortifications, lay mines and erect obstacles. Following the parade on 7 November 1941, individual elements of the brigade began to participate in combat in the direction of Sosnogorsk near Sukhinisya and at a number of other places. Gradually, as the campaign developed, they spread out to many places, fighting the enemy for each bit of soil and helping the armed forces and people of Moscow to drive off the fascists.

As some Muscovites tell it, "Kachusa" was the song that the soldiers of the International Regiment liked the best. They sang this song, in many different languages, on their toughest days.

Time has passed and the fierce war has faded into the past but the people of the world, especially the Soviet people have never forgotten the great war of national defense fought by the Soviets. The persons living today and the generations of tomorrow will always remember the tens of millions of persons who fought and died to win glorious victory.

The party, state and people of the Soviet Union want very much to know the names, the names of the families and the birth places of the Vietnamese soldiers in order to recognize their contribution to the fight to defend Moscow, in particular, and the great war of national defense, in general.

Ascertaining and verifying the names of these soldiers and the names of their families and birth places after nearly one-half century has passed, has been a difficult and complex job, particularly in view of the fact that these persons went to work at the Communist International when Vietnam was under French domination and had to keep their activities secret.

But, in the spirit of "not overlooking anyone or anything," through the joint efforts of many persons and on the basis of archives, documents, memoirs and the recollections of persons who participated in revolutionary activities as well as persons participating in the fight to defend Moscow who had some involvement with the International Regiment, Soviet comrades have begun to gather materials on these soldiers. On 12 December 1986, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a decision awarding the Order of the War To Defend the Motherland, First Class, to the international soldiers who were Vietnamese. In addition, these soldiers were also awarded by the Soviet party and state the Medal Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Victory over Fascism and the Soviet Veteran's Emblem.

Among the Vietnamese who fought and died defending Moscow and whose participation has now been documented were three persons who were born and grew up in the home village of President Ho Chi Minh, two of whom were related to Uncle Ho, one on his mother's side and one on his father's side. (Footnote 1) (There are some sources of information on Vuong Thuc Tinh in Kim Lien but these have not been verified. Consequently, Vuong Thuc Tinh is not mentioned in this article) This was a significant coincidence, one which proved that the birth place of Uncle Ho was an area rich in revolutionary tradition that gave birth to many outstanding sons.

Those three persons, all of whom came from Kim Lien Village in Nam Dan District, Nghe Tinh Province were:

1. Ly Nam Thanh, that is Nguyen Sinh Than, the son of Nguyen Sinh Ly from Sen Village.
2. Ly Thuc Chat, that is Vuong Thuc Thoai, the son of Vuong Thuc Dam from Sen Village.
3. Ly Anh Tao, that is Hoang To, the son of Hoang Ninh from Hoang Tru Village.

On 23 July 1987, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of War Invalid and War Dead Day in Vietnam, funeral ceremonies for these war dead were held in their home village. At these ceremonies, their families were awarded "The Fatherland Remembers" Certificates by the government of the SRV.

This event deeply moved and made all of us very proud, especially the people of Kim Lien Village. The relatives of these war dead, elderly persons in Kim Lien and the cadres of the Kim Lien Museum tell the following about the youth, the circumstances surrounding the departure and the revolutionary activities of these three war dead:

In the early decades of the 20th century, a movement arose in Vietnam to chart the path to national salvation. The patriot Phan Boi Chau was one of the persons who launched and had an enormous influence upon this movement. In late 1923, according to the memoirs (written in 1962) of Vuong Thuc Oanh (Phan Boi Chau's son-in-law), he returned home from Thailand with the task of finding persons to go overseas. On his first trip, Vuong Thuc Oanh took five persons through Laos to northeastern Thailand and turned them over to Dong Thuc Hua. Because this was his first trip and these persons had to be selected very carefully, Vuong Thuc Oanh only chose persons from his village, all of whom were sons of families with a patriotic tradition. Among the five persons who made this first trip were Nguyen Sinh Than, Vuong Thuc Thoai and Hoang To. Although from three different families, these three persons shared a close relationship. The father of Vuong Thuc Dam called the mother of Hoang To "aunt" (Hoang To's mother was from the Vuong family). The father of Hoang To, Mr Hoang Ninh, was the cousin of Hoang Thi Loan (the mother of Uncle Ho). Vuong Thuc Thoai called the mother of Nguyen Sinh Than "aunt" (the mother of Nguyen Sinh Than was also from the Vuong family). The father of Nguyen Sinh Than, Mr Nguyen Sinh Ly, called Nguyen Sinh Sac (Uncle Ho's father) "uncle," etc.

The trip was organized well and in complete secrecy. According to the residents of Sen Village, on the morning of the day he left, Nguyen Sinh Than arose and split firewood as he had done every other morning. He then told his sister-in-law (the wife of Nguyen Sinh Dien): "I have something to do and will be gone for awhile. Let me have a bowl of rice before I go." When he finished eating, Nguyen Sinh Than departed. Vuong Thuc Thoai's mother, who helped make preparations for the trip, provided the group with dried food and salt. When Vuong Thuc Thoai was taken by his mother to say good-bye to his maternal grandmother, on the pretext that he was going far away to another province to study, his grandmother offered him some money but he refused to take it. She then went to her loom, cut a piece of cloth and gave it to him to use as a scarf.

Nguyen Dinh Khang, who turned 76 this year and who once flew kites with Nguyen Sinh Than, recounts that Nguyen Sinh Than was a polite person who never had

much to say. He was diligent, attractive and a good student. He liked to sing and was in love with a young girl named Hoi. He was 17 years old the year that he left.

Also according to Khang, Vuong Thuc Thoai and Hoang To, who were in his age group, were young when they left. They were able-bodied, intelligent, dynamic and knew how to think.

According to the memoirs of Vuong Thuc Oanh, when they arrived in Thailand, they stayed at The Farm (an establishment of Vietnamese in Thailand). One year later, they travelled to China. There, they met Nguyen Ai Quoc, who instructed them in revolutionary activities. With that, Nguyen Sinh Than changed his name to Ly Nam Thanh, Vuong Thuc Thoai changed his name to Ly Thuc Chat and Hoang To changed his name to Ly Anh Tao. (Our revered Uncle Ho went by the name Ly Thuy and Tran Phu by the name Ly Quy back then).

Back in their village, after these persons had left, the officials and secret police frequently called their relatives and friends in for interrogation. Having prepared their answers in advance, they all said the same thing and the enemy was unable to extract any information from them. For example, everyone said that Vuong Thuc Thoai had died and was buried in Con Loi. They even showed them the grave (which was actually the grave of Vuong Thuc Luan—the younger brother of Vuong Thuc Dam). But once, a Eurasian secret police officer, who spoke fluent Vietnamese, went to the home of the village mayor and summoned the mother of Vuong Thuc Thoai. He told her that one of her children had gone off to conduct revolutionary activities under the name of Ly Thuc Chat. Vuong Thuc Thoai's mother replied that she had no son named Ly Thuc Chat. The officer then showed her a photograph and said: "This is your son, he is Ly Thuc Chat, also known as Vuong Thuc Thoai and grandson Dam!" He told her that the photograph had been taken in Hong Kong in 1929. She looked at the photo and immediately recognized her son. The youth in the photo was wearing a felt hat but he was also wearing the scarf his grandmother had given him. But she still

refused to admit that he was her son. According to Khang, this incident occurred after the Nghe Tinh Soviets movement. From then on, the people of Kim Lien Village knew that Vuong Thuc Thoai was also Ly Thuc Chat.

In 1938, Vuong Thuc Sam (the younger brother of Vuong Thuc Thoai, who is now a retired cadre living in Unit Number 5 in Sen Village) received a letter from Vuong Thuc Thoai. When the family examined the letter to determine from where it had been sent, they learned that Vuong Thuc Thoai had gone to the Soviet Union and sent it from there.

When they left their families and village, these persons were still teenagers. By the time they arrived in the Soviet Union, they had become revolutionary militants, had endured many challenges and gained much experience. Before arriving in the Soviet Union, they participated in combat within the ranks of the Bat Bo Forces (a unit of the Chinese Revolutionary Army). And, when Hitler's fascists were approaching Moscow, they took up weapons and joined the ranks of the staunch defenders of Moscow—the heart of the revolution and capital of the first socialist state in the world.

More materials on the Vietnamese soldiers who fought and died defending Moscow must be gathered before they are complete. Our people, as well as the Soviet people, want to learn more details about the years and months in the noble lives of these war dead. But the things we have learned about them so far give us a feeling of genuine pride. In those days when Vietnam was still trapped in the bloodshed and flames of the colonial and feudal system, there were Vietnamese who, following the call of Uncle Ho, found their way to the home of the October Revolution and, with their flesh and blood, contributed to the defense of Moscow and helped to lay the foundation of the friendship and militant solidarity between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, thereby displaying noble internationalism.

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